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UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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ON COOLIE AND AFRICAN EMIGRATION TO THE EMANCIPATED COLONIES.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO ITS AUXILIARIES AND FRIENDS THROUGHOUT GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Dear Friends,—We have had frequent occasion to call your attention to the importation of Indian and African labourers into the emancipated colonies, and to the deplorable results which have followed; but never, we venture to say, was your active interference more needed than at the present time, to prevent, if possible, the consummation of a governmental scheme for extending this species of emigration, on a large scale, to these colonies.

The energetic and united expression of your opinion, in the year 1838, led the Government, both at home and in India, to prohibit the further export of Coolies to Mauritius and British Guiana; for it was found, that although attempted to be regulated by Government, it was a system of fraud from beginning to end. The fact was established beyond dispute, that multitudes of the Coolies shipped to Mauritius were kidnapped, forced into prison depots, and kept in durance until the vessels were ready to receive them; hurried on board, put under hatches and guards, not allowed requisite accommodation, food, or medical attention during the voyage; brought under fraudulent contracts, to labour for years on scanty wages and scanty fare; separated from their families, who were left to want, beggary, and starvation; compelled to perform the hardest agricultural labour at the discretion of their masters; and, to crown all, were not afforded due protection from an upright, impartial, and efficient magistracy.

It is believed that not less than 50,000 Coolies were introduced into Mauritius under these circumstances, and that of that vast number a few hundreds only were females. The consequences of such a frightful disparity of the sexes may be imagined. The most unnatural vices became prevalent, and are thus adverted to by the late Sir Lionel Smith. "The Coolies," he observes, "have given themselves up to a degree of disgraceful licentiousness, which no person acquainted with their character and habits in India, (dissolute as they are known to be,) could possibly believe;" and yet for the purpose of lowering to the *minimum* point the wages paid to the emancipated negroes, and to glut the cupidity of Mauritian planters, all this was allowed by the Government, until the indignant voice of the public, both in India and in England, was heard, and the Coolie slave-trade was discontinued.

Two things, however, revived the demands for fresh importations of Coolies, the great mortality which occurred among them from the want of proper shelter and sufficient food, as well as from hard labour, and neglect in sickness; and the anticipated expiration of the indentures of service of the survivors. To meet these demands, Lord Stanley, after much opposition on the part of the friends of humanity in this country, caused the prohibitory act to be repealed, and an ordinance was promulgated in British India, on the 15th January, 1842, re-opening the Coolie trade with Mauritius.

It will be remembered that Lord Stanley distinctly pledged the Government, that every precaution should be taken to prevent abuses; that proper officers should be appointed as emigration agents in India, and as protectors of emigrants in Mauritius; that the Europeans shipped to the colony should be perfectly free to choose their masters, and, of course, their employments on arrival; that due care should be taken to prevent fraudulent contracts for labour; and that, in point of fact, the oversight of these people should be, throughout the whole transaction, paternal. His Lordship, however, did not promise an equality of the sexes, a point which, above all others, was most essential to the social happiness, to say nothing of the moral welfare of the people among whom they were to be placed.

It now turns out that if all the evils which accompanied the importation of Coolies into Mauritius previously to 1839, have not taken place under the new regulations, there has been the most culpable neglect on the part of the authorities in giving them effect. In a few words it may be stated, that the vicious system of private agencies has been permitted to exist with their establishments of duffadars and crimps, who have trepanned the ignorant into engagements, under promises never meant to be realized, that many have been fraudulently shipped; that on arrival at Mauritius they have not been allowed liberty of choice, either as it respects employers or employments; that they have been selected by the planters who paid the importers from ten to fifteen dollars per head for the privilege of choice, in addition to the bounty of 7*l.* per head, to which they were entitled, by the Colonial Government; that when thus selected, they were marched off to the abodes or estates of their respective masters; that they are herded together in buildings which admit not of proper separation for the sexes; that de-

prived generally of female society, their moral habits are of the most revolting kind; that those in the rural districts are deprived of the right of locomotion without a pass, and that the vagrant laws are administered with great severity.

After about 40,000 Coolies were shipped from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, eleven per cent. only of whom were women, and the market for them had become glutted, the Governor of Mauritius discovered that the regulations meant for their protection had not been duly carried into effect, and therefore despatched an agent, Mr. Anderson, to the Indian Government, to secure proper superintendence in future. The explanation of this strange dereliction of duty, is thus given by his Excellency, in a despatch to Lord Stanley, dated 19th December, 1843, nearly two years after the regulations should have gone into full effect:—"A series of communications freshly received from Mr. Anderson, the agent, justifies, in every essential particular, the anticipations formed, assuring me, as these communications do, that *abuse of every kind has received an immediate and effectual check, as a first consequence of his mission*; and that he has received the most cordial and unreserved support of the Indian Government, for carrying into immediate operation every provision of her Majesty's Order in Council, hitherto but imperfectly subscribed to, through casual misconstruction, admitted on the one hand, by the Indian authorities themselves; and on the other, through pressure of the urgent wants of the colony, and could, at the outset, be only adequately provided for, through the channel of individual mercantile speculation." What a confession have we here!

In further alluding to the subject, the Governor seems to congratulate himself, now the "pressure" is taken off the colony, that "the whole duffadar and crimping machinery, inseparable from the system of private agencies, will be rooted up, and the consequent additional demand made upon the planter, varying from ten to twelve, and even fifteen dollars for every labourer, so obtained, will entirely cease!" Comment on this statement is unnecessary.

Under the Order in Council of the 15th January, 1842, up to the 31st Dec., 1843, the estimated shipment of Coolies from India for Mauritius, as we have already stated, was about 40,000; and by the last mail from India we learn that the shipments from Calcutta for the year 1844 amounted to upwards of 6,000. It thus appears that between 90,000 and 100,000 Coolies in all have been imported into the colony since the 1st August, 1834.

It is a point of no slight importance to ascertain what has become of this mighty host. How many of them have returned to India? How many have died in Mauritius? And what number remains alive in the colony at the present time?

We can answer the first question from the official papers laid before Parliament. During the years 1840, 1841, 1842, and 1843, the number of Coolies who returned to India was 6,074; to this must be added those who had returned previously, 52, making in all 6,126.

With respect to the second question our information is exceedingly incomplete. From one official source we learn that the mortality among the Coolies ranged from 8 to 9 per cent. per annum in the town of Port Louis; from another, that it has been 10 per cent. in the country districts; and from a careful inspection of the parliamentary papers we gather, that out of 25,000 Coolies introduced within a period of four years, and during that period only, the deaths were about 7,000! The probability is, that the mortality has been excessive, and will parallel, if it does not exceed, that which occurs among the slaves of Brazil and Cuba.

Not content with the vast supply of Coolie labourers which have been already imported into Mauritius, nor with the additional supply of 6,000 per annum which the Government have engaged shall be shipped, under its auspices, for the colony, an ordinance has been introduced into the legislative council for the purpose of obtaining a further supply of labourers *from the eastern coast of Africa*. Now, supposing this ordinance should go into effect, a new form of the African slave-trade will be begun, for along the whole of that coast, we affirm, that not a single free labourer can be obtained. The bounty which it is proposed shall be paid on imported Africans is 5*l.* per head, which is the very price at which slaves are sold for on that coast. Surely it is enough that thousands of Coolies have been already sacrificed, and will yet be sacrificed, to the lust of gain, without entailing more miseries on Africa. If it be said, the Africans purchased will become free in Mauritius, it may with truth be replied, that, even if it were so, to supply these Africans, an extensive internal slave-trade must be carried on with all its accompanying horrors. We, therefore, call upon you, and every friend of humanity throughout the country, to resist this attempt to renew the slave-trade.

Another fact we beg to lay before you bearing on this subject. The Government has given its sanction to the removal of a large body of Indian labourers to the colonies of Jamaica, British Guiana, and



ANTI-SLAVERY
REPORTER

Trinidad. Already orders have been despatched to India for 12,500, to be followed by a much larger number as soon as the monetary arrangements to defray the charges are complete. For that purpose, it is proposed that a loan of 1,500,000*l.* shall be raised, to be repaid, both principal and interest, within a given number of years. Now, as there is no reason to doubt that similar evils will result to the Coolies imported into the West Indies and British Guiana as have been found to exist in Mauritius—fraud, death, and immorality—you are urgently called upon to resist it.

The hope entertained by the West India body of feeding their estates with labourers from the British settlements on the coast of Africa having become faint, propositions have been laid before Government to allow other parts of the western coast of that continent to be open to them for the supply of labourers; but they can only be obtained by purchase, or by means equivalent to purchase. The West Indians wish to emulate the Mauritians in this respect—the one demands unlimited access to the eastern, the other to the western coast of Africa.

After the course which the Colonial Minister has pursued on this great question, we confess that our fears are excited to the utmost, and that the Government will give way on the African as they already have on the Coolie trade; and, should they do so, who can predict to what an extent foreign countries, having slave territories and colonies, may not follow the pernicious example, and people them with nominally free, but in reality, slave labourers.

From the evidence which has come before us, we are satisfied that the demand for immigrants is fictitious, not real; that what is principally wanted is capital, a resident proprietary, a better organization of labour, superior modes of cultivation, fairer dealing with the labourers, and the entire abandonment of the relics of the old slave-system which have forced large numbers of the emancipated slaves to abandon estates on which they were bred in order to preserve their independence, and have led them to other modes of obtaining a livelihood than that of sugar cultivation.

It may be observed, also, that in the colonies there is a growing conviction of the impolicy of immigration as proposed to be carried on, and that strenuous exertions are being made to prevent it. To a certain extent this has been successful in Jamaica; but in the crown colonies of British Guiana and Trinidad, where the voice of the people cannot be heard, immigration loan ordinances have been passed, which, if allowed by the Government, will involve the tax-payers in a debt of 750,000*l.* sterling, with the interest of 5 per cent. accruing thereon for a period of twenty-five years to come, the whole of which is to be devoted to the supply of the colonies with Coolies and Africans.

Our design in this appeal is to urge you to petition Parliament forthwith against any further introduction of Coolies into the emancipated colonies, and to press upon Parliament the necessity of resisting every attempt to obtain labourers in the manner proposed from the African continent. To free immigration we have never been opposed, whether carried on at the expense of those to be benefited by it, or at the charge of the immigrants themselves; but to the schemes of the West India body and of the Government in relation thereto, we have been and continue to be, the uncompromising opponents.

I am, dear friends,

On behalf of the Committee, yours faithfully,

JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

27, New Broad-street, Feb. 26, 1845.

PETITION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

Sheweth.—That your petitioners, deeply impressed with the painful nature of the facts which have been officially submitted to your Honourable House, and which have come to their knowledge through private but undoubted sources of information, relative to the export of East Indian labourers to the British emancipated colonies, would respectfully call on your Honourable House to pause before it gives additional sanction and extension to a measure fraught with so many evils.

From these facts it results, that, from various ports of British India there have been shipped to the island of Mauritius, from 1834 to 1844, both inclusive, a number of labourers which cannot fall far short of one hundred thousand; that they were composed chiefly of the male sex; that a large proportion of them left behind them wives and families, or aged relatives, more or less dependent upon them; that many of these were in consequence reduced to the most abject poverty, and some to starvation and death; that large numbers of these labourers were kidnapped by crimps employed by the shipping agents, or trepanned into engagements by promises and representations never meant to be realized; that these abuses have occurred, not only under the old, but in many cases under the new regulations formed by Government for their repression; that, on arrival at their place of destination, of which they were oftentimes ignorant, they cannot be said to have had liberty of choice either of employments or employers; that they have been restricted whilst under engagements to certain districts, not being allowed to remove freely from one place to another without a pass; that many have been confined in the Bagne, or prison, at Port Louis by the police, without any charge whatever having been lodged against them;

that they have suffered a vast mortality; and that, deprived almost wholly of female society, they have sunk into the most degraded state and the practice of the most unnatural vices.

That comparatively few of those imported into Mauritius previously to 1839 have returned to India at the expiration of their term of engagement of five years, and that those who have returned with sums of money worthy of notice were chiefly composed of the sirdars or headmen, domestics, or parties who had devoted themselves to petty trades as hucksters and money lenders.

That the result of the importation of Indian labourers into Mauritius has by no means answered the expectations of the parties most interested, the colonists having become burdened thereby with a vast debt and heavy taxation, which presses most severely upon them; and that, upon their own showing, the present crop of sugar is heavily mortgaged to meet existing liabilities.

That your petitioners attribute this deplorable state of things to the vicious system of supplying the colony with labourers to meet a momentary exigency, or rather with a view of depressing the wages of labour paid to the emancipated classes, as well as of extending the cultivation of sugar.

That your petitioners are deeply concerned to learn that the local Government of Mauritius has given its sanction to a scheme for the importation of negroes from the eastern coast of Africa, in addition to the permission of the home Government to introduce 6,000 Coolies per annum into Mauritius, from British India. That your petitioners regard this movement, should it receive the sanction of the Crown, as the commencement of a new African slave-trade; for they are persuaded that no free labourers can be obtained on any part of that coast, that such negroes as are obtained must be purchased, or arrangements made equivalent to purchase, and that the place of those who may be obtained by such means will be supplied by kidnapping, predatory war in the interior of the country, or by such other detestable means as are resorted to by slave-dealers.

That your petitioners grieve also to state, that the home Government have extended the principle of Coolie emigration to the emancipated colonies in the West Indies and South America, and that there is probably now on their way to these colonies ten thousand of that class of labourers; and that the cost of their importation is to be borne, not by those who are to derive advantage from it, but by the colonists at large.

That your petitioners have further learned that a loan, amounting to 1,500,000*l.*, is to be negotiated for immigration purposes by certain of the British colonies, the payment of which is to be guaranteed by your Honourable House, and that already British Guiana and Trinidad, in which colonies the great body of the tax-payers are unrepresented, have passed ordinances with indecent haste, and reckless of consequences, the principle on which they are based having, it is understood, received the sanction of Government.

That your petitioners have reason to fear that, unless your Honourable House interpose, parts of the Western coast of Africa out of British jurisdiction may be opened for the supply of African-labourers to the British West Indian and South American colonies; whereas it is evident to your petitioners that no free labourers can be obtained, except in small numbers at the British settlements on that coast.

That your petitioners cannot but contemplate these measures with dismay, inasmuch as, in addition to the injustice, inhumanity, and immorality they necessarily involve, example will thereby be given to slaveholding countries to people their territories and colonies with nominally free, but in reality slave labourers, and the African continent will be ravaged to a greater extent than ever to supply the victims of a barbarous cupidity.

That your petitioners are satisfied that the demand for labourers in the emancipated colonies is fictitious, and that what is really wanting is capital, a resident proprietary body, a better organization of labour and better modes of cultivation, the entire abandonment of the relics of the old slave system, and the stimulus of wholesome competition in the home market.

Your petitioners therefore urgently entreat your Honourable House to take their representations into early and serious consideration, and wholly to refuse its sanction to any scheme for raising loans to supply the emancipated colonies with Asiatic and African labourers, or to any other measure of colonial immigration which is not based on the unfettered choice of the emigrants, and the expenses of which are not borne out of the private funds of those intended to be benefited thereby.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

THOUGHTS ON THE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

We take the following interesting letter from an extra number of the *Union Missionary*.

TO THE REV. THOMAS RASTON, WESLEYAN MISSIONARY.

Mendi Mission House, Little Boom River,
Sherbro, August 20th, 1844.

My dear Sir,—At your request I will give you some account of the slave trade, as carried on here. I have long been intending to do this, but have not, on account of my information being so limited. I have been here only about five months, and as a matter of course, I have not in that short time, become fully acquainted with all the *modus operandi* of this most nefarious traffic; but what little I have

learned I most readily commit to paper and send you. After having given you,

I. The present state of the slave-trade in Sherbro, I will add

II. What I conceive to be the proper remedy.

I. The present state of the slave-trade in Sherbro.

As the trade has been lately renewed, it will be well to commence at the beginning. Soon after my removing to Kaw-Mendi a letter was received by the king from Gallinas, requesting him to build up Ba-hall, the old slave factory, again. A short time after a Spaniard visited Kaw-Mendi and brought the King of Kooman a demijohn of rum, and a case or two of gin, requesting him to build up the place, and let them open a factory there. The Spaniard visited the other chiefs in the same way. The chiefs then all met together with their people at Ba-hall, and built a large house for the Spaniard, for a store, &c.

A vessel with a cargo of goods arrived some time before the house was completed. As soon as the part intended for a store was finished, the goods were landed. But the Spaniard would not let the chiefs have any goods for the purchase of slaves till they had paid up what they owed when the factory was destroyed last. The different chiefs and others owed about three hundred slaves. The king (Harry Tucker) owed six. Those who were able to pay, got goods, and those who were not able did not. For a hogshead of tobacco they have to pay twelve slaves, for a puncheon of rum (120 gallons) two slaves, and have two months from the time they receive the goods, in which to pay the slaves. How they pay for other goods I have not learned.

Since the trade has commenced, from what I have seen and heard, I should judge that it had been carried on quite briskly. The trade is carried on as follows:—The chiefs or others take goods as above described—carry them home, and distribute them to trusty persons, not unfrequently to confidential slaves, who take them into the Mendi (Kosso) country, and there they purchase slaves, and bring them down.

Several weeks ago they brought between five and six hundred slaves from Gallinas in order to ship them at Sea-Bar, because Gallinas was blockaded with men-of-war, and they could not ship them there. When the slaves arrived at Ba-hall, they found a steamboat off the Bar, and consequently they could not ship them there. They remained at Ba-hall some days, perhaps ten, and were then taken back to Gallinas. While at Ba-hall there being no barracoon, and nothing but a kind of shed to shelter them from the rain, they were on the point of insurrection. The Spaniards were obliged to call in the neighbouring people, and to keep a strong watch night and day.

II. What I conceive to be the remedy.

It will be easily seen that whatever is the remedy, there must be an adaptation of the means to the end. It will be therefore necessary to ascertain the nature of the malady. Its character is evidently complex. It may, perhaps, not improperly be considered as a physical, political, and moral evil.

It is a physical evil only in reference to its wretched victims.

It is a political evil only in reference to those nations engaged in it. The slave-trade is not a political evil to England.

It is a moral evil in reference to the whole universe of God. It tramples under foot the laws of God and the rights of man;—degrades him to a chattel, a thing—makes barter of the image of God, &c. This leads me to say,

I. The remedy is not to be found in physical power.

1st. I judge this to be so, because there is no adaptation of the means to the end. The physical trait is not a prominent trait; so far from it, that it may perhaps be considered as a consequence of the trade rather than as forming a part of its character. If it be a trait of its character, it is so connected with the other two, that while they exist, it must exist, and when they cease it will also cease.

2nd. I judge this to be so because of the comparatively little good that has been done by the extensive experiment that has been made. I say, little good when compared with the almost infinite means, which have been used to accomplish it.

I would premise here, that in what I shall say of the inefficiency of an armed force to suppress this trade, I do not wish it to be understood that I censure or blame the British Government for using that force, for that purpose; far from that, I commend it. The active measures it has taken to abolish slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, give to the British Crown a lustre, which bedecks the crown of no other nation. The course that England has taken in reference to this trade, has caused her name to be written high, yea very high in the temple of fame. It adds more glory to her name than a dozen battles of Waterloo could ever do. While the course the United States has taken,—not being able to bear the weight of her mother's crown, entered the temple of liberty and inscribed her name in blazon characters, high above all others, and underscored it with significant lines and stripes, and bestudded it with dazzling stars to give a prominence, while at the same time she kept her iron foot on the neck of nearly one-sixth part of her population, and has acted in the same hypocritical manner ever since—has covered her name with everlasting shame and disgrace.

England, in endeavouring to suppress this trade, has used the kind of means which naturally belongs to her as a nation, and used them faithfully. Yet they have proved inefficient, and always must, from the very nature of the case. But is not her fault here, a want of adaptation of means to the end? Perhaps we may be able to judge more correctly as to how much real good has been done if we consider the following things:

1st. How much has the market been diminished?

2nd. How much has the number of its victims been diminished?

3rd. How much has the profit of the trader been diminished?

4th. What is the actual condition of those rescued?

1st. How much has the market been diminished?

On this point I confess a want of knowledge of facts permits me not to speak. But from the fact that the means used have been directed towards the supply, rather than the market, we are naturally led to the conclusion that the market has been affected only as the supply has been.

2nd. How much has the number of its victims been diminished?

That you may be able to see the truth on this point, follow me for a few moments. First, let us go to Cuba, and take a view of the slave market there. We find there is a demand for five hundred slaves: now let us come back to the coast and visit a slave-factory. We find in the barracoon just five hundred slaves, just enough to supply the market yonder. They are put on board—they set sail—they are taken as a prize and carried into Sierra Leone. The demand still remains, yea increases, and must and will be supplied; and from whence? From Africa, as a matter of course, except those smuggled in from the West India islands, and other places. Others must be hunted down and torn from their homes, to fill the place of those who have been captured. We must not take the number of liberated Africans in Sierra Leone, for the number of persons rescued from the horrors of slavery. We must first subtract the number that has been taken to supply the market they were intended to supply, and we shall find the number very much diminished. Thus you see, the number that is kept out of remediless bondage is not so large, by far, as is generally supposed.

3rd. How much has the profit of the trader been diminished?

Follow me a little farther, and you will see that the trader finds the business nearly as profitable as before, or at least, so profitable that he can well afford to run some risks. Let us now for a moment pay a visit to that slave factory. Let us go into the counting house and open the trader's books. We find that several years ago he gave a hogshead of tobacco for four slaves. Let us now turn over to the present time, and we find that though tobacco is cheaper than formerly, that instead of four he receives twelve slaves for a hogshead of tobacco. Thus you see, that while the men-of-war have increased his risks, he has diminished the price he pays for the slave, so that the profit remains about the same.

Let us now follow those twelve slaves he has just received for that hogshead of tobacco, to Cuba. We see them sold under the hammer for 340 dollars each: add it up, and we find that the hogshead of tobacco transferred from Africa in the shape of human cattle, brings in Cuba market the round sum of four thousand and eighty dollars. Surely this is a profit which authorises the trader to run great risks. (In February last, 340 dollars was the market price of slaves in Cuba. See *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* for the month of April.) We see that if the profit is in any way diminished, the trade is now sufficiently profitable to induce the traders to carry it on, notwithstanding the great risks they are obliged to run.

4th. What is the actual condition of those rescued?

We might well stop here; but in order to judge more correctly as to the real amount of good which has been done by the experiment of physical power, we must visit those who have been captured, and liberated in Sierra Leone. If we find them Christianized and civilized, making good citizens and accumulating property, it will be so much in favour of physical power. We will go to Freetown, as that is the most favoured spot in the colony. Here is a population of 15,000. We find 5,000 who are absolutely heathen, and who are permitted to practise their heathenish customs and worship without any molestation from Government. Yea, more than this, we find Europeans giving them money to see them go through with their devil worship and devil dances. Almost every night your ears are assailed with the monotonous tum-tum of their drums, accompanied with the almost unearthly sound of their voices.

We find, then, that one-third of those who are carried into Sierra Leone are as much heathen as they were when they left their native country. From the two-thirds we have to subtract the settlers, Maroons, Europeans, &c. Let us look for a moment at the remainder. We find among them some of the brightest specimens of Christian character. They would be an ornament to the Church of Christ in any part of the world. Yea, they would be a living rebuke and reproof to the alarming stupidity and coldness which characterise the mass of professing Christians in civilized countries. We find many good citizens, and men capable of holding offices under Government. We find some who, by their industry and enterprise, have accumulated a respectable amount of property. Still we find some, even of this remainder, who are far from being good citizens. There is one thing to be taken into consideration here, and that is, the labours of the Church and Wesleyan Missionaries. Government has done much in educating the liberated children; yet most of the education, and most of the practical Christianity we find in the colony, is to be ascribed to the self-denying labours of these missionaries, who have been supported by their friends at home.

We will stop here: we have seen since we started, that while many were rescued from slavery by physical power, yet that very fact was the occasion of many more being thrown into it; that after all the prizes that had been taken, the profit of the traders was not materially altered, or, at least, that even now the profit is so enormously large, that the traders could well afford to carry on the trade, although they do meet with heavy losses from captures and other causes.

We also have seen, that one-third of those who have been captured are now heathen, and that most of the education, and most of the practical Christianity in the colony, is to be attributed to the labours of the missionaries; and from what you have seen, you are now better able to judge of the efficiency or inefficiency of physical power as a remedy for this most dreadful malady.

2nd. The remedy is not to be found in political power.

First—I judge this to be the case, because those nations who would destroy that great malady at a stroke by political action, cannot, because it is not to them a political evil, and is not within their jurisdiction. And

Second—Because those nations to whom it is a political evil, will not, because their moral sentiment is so dreadfully low. It may be said, "Correct this low moral sentiment, and political power will accomplish it." Very true; but it would require some other power beyond either physical or political to do that. So that it remains as true as before, that political power is an inefficient remedy.

3rd. But the remedy will be found in moral power.

First—I judge this to be the case, because there is a perfect adaptation of the means to the end. If a person desires to accomplish a specific object in business, he must adapt the means to the end desired. One man is successful in business because he does this, and another fails because he does it not. There is no law in nature more true than this: "Means must be adapted to the end." It is but another name, as it were, for the law of "cause and effect." It is just as absurd to suppose that a man's mind can be changed by the sword, as it is to suppose that a ship can be built by making an eloquent speech, or by preaching a powerful sermon to the congregated timbers.

Second—Because it has always proved efficient in similar cases. Look at the Sandwich Islands, where a few years ago every man but the king and his family were slaves: not a slave is now to be found. Look at the other South Sea islands, where cannibalism and infanticide were the order of the day. Look the world over, and you will find that wherever it has been faithfully applied to any moral evil whatever, it has always proved successful.

Third—Because the promises of God are to that effect, and were there no other reason than this, it would be sufficient. The promises of God in Christ Jesus are "Yea and amen." There is a concentration of moral power in the cross of Calvary, which he has promised shall subdue all things to himself, so that at the name of him that hung upon it, "every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess him Lord to the glory of God the Father." The "little stone cut out of the mountain without hands," it is promised, "shall fill the whole earth." I might easily enlarge on this point, but I hasten to bring this already too protracted communication to a close. I shall give you, lastly, The encouraging facts which have come under my own observation since I have been here.

1st. I have found almost universally a willingness among the native traders to converse upon the subject. I have made it a rule to converse with every one who came in my way, and they have done it with a freeness and frankness which has surprised me.

2nd. They all, without exception, readily acknowledge that it is wrong. I could give you many instances of this kind, but two or three must suffice. The king has repeatedly told me that "his heart troubled him about it." A few days ago, when at Kew-Mendi on some business, the king told me that he was coming to my house to get some rope of me to make a sail for his canoe. I told him that I was always ready to do him a favour, but could not in any way assist him in the slave-trade; as the canoe was used in the slave-trade I refused to let him have it. He afterwards obtained rope from another quarter, and sent it with some canvass to my coxswain that he might make the sail. I refused to let him do it for the same reason. The next morning the king came to my house, and I asked him if he was vexed with the word I had sent the day before. "Oh no," said he, "for what you said is the truth."

A few days ago, another man engaged in the trade called on me. In conversing with him on the subject, he said repeatedly that the (native) traders were afraid of me. I asked him how it was that they were afraid of me. I said I was only one man, and they never saw me with a sword or knife or anything else in my hand. "But," said he, "they are afraid of you because they know they are wrong."

3rd. There is a universal impression that this mission is going to destroy the slave-trade in Sherbro. When the king was at Ba-hall, he was repeatedly told that he had sold his country for nothing, and that now the white men (Spaniards,) could not come here to trade.

When conversing with the trader above alluded to, I told him what I intended to do for the children that should be committed to my charge,—that I not only intended to teach them to read and write, but I hoped to be able to teach the boys trades, and the girls to sew, and spin, and weave. Said he, "You do that, and you will stop the slave-trade." I might also add, as an encouraging fact, that the children here, as they are everywhere else, are on the side of humanity. On one occasion, when a slave was brought into Kew-Mendi, with handcuffs on his wrists, and a log of wood on his ankle, so heavy that it took two boys—one at each end, to lift the log as he stepped, the two boys were heard talking together about it, when one said to the other, "If I was a man I would not sell slaves."

I might multiply incidents of this kind, but I will weary your patience no longer. Hoping the above will contain satisfactory information, I subscribe myself as ever,

Yours, most truly,

W. RAYMOND.

TRINIDAD LEGISLATION AGAIN.

THE good people of Trinidad are going on with their work in a very spirited manner. Calculating upon the speedy arrival of those crowds of Coolies, for whose transportation they made provision in December last, by the hurried and indecorous passing of an Immigration Loan Ordinance which we have already noticed, they have proceeded to the passing of two other ordinances, with a view of qualifying themselves to give these wished-for strangers a suitable reception. Copies of these ordinances, which have been sent over by the last mail for the approbation of her Majesty's Government, are in our hands, and a brief reference to their contents will show beyond all question the *animus* and bearing of them. The first which we shall notice is intituled an Ordinance for regulating the relative rights and duties of masters and servants. Generally speaking, it is extremely stringent and severe, and liable to be abused to bad purposes. The second clause enacts that, if any servant under contract "shall be guilty of any wilful misconduct or ill behaviour in such service," he shall be liable to fine and imprisonment; so that any trivial fault a servant may commit may be made the subject of a prosecution, and the term "ill behaviour" may at pleasure be annexed to what is no fault at all. The twenty-first clause extends this rigorous criminal jurisdiction, for the first time since emancipation, over "all household and other domestic servants." The fifth clause enacts that any contract shall, in the absence of any express agreement to the contrary, be deemed a monthly contract, not terminable (unless by mutual agreement) except at the end of a month, and on notice of fourteen days; while, by the eighth clause, it is lawful for any employer to discharge any servant for any misconduct, without notice, and without any wages beyond what may be due at the time—no obligation being laid upon the employer to state before any magistrate the nature of the alleged misconduct, or to prove its occurrence. By the twelfth clause, contracts for labour by the day or task cannot, except by mutual consent, be terminated without twenty-four hours' notice, in the presence of a credible witness. The fifteenth and seventeenth clauses extend the whole summary jurisdiction of magistrates over the labouring classes, which has hitherto been confined to the stipendiaries, to the ordinary justices of the peace; thus withdrawing from the peasantry the advantage they have thus far derived from the institution of the stipendiary magistracy. As if aware that this ordinance is of excessive severity, and convinced that it must give rise to oppressions which could not be borne, the Trinidad gentlemen have accompanied it with one for establishing a Court of Appeal. The value of this remedy for the prospective mischief may be judged of by the following particulars. Every person "minded to appeal" must "enter into a recognizance, with one surety," in the sum of five pounds sterling, over and above the amount of any penalty which he may have been adjudged to pay, (clause tenth,) all appeals are to be heard at one of three places in the island, an arrangement involving the necessity, in many cases, of long and difficult journeys, and protracted absence from home, on the part of the appellants, (clause five;) and all appeals are to be determined by one of the three judges of the island, (clause 3.) Now two of these judges were for many years planters in the colony, and have contracted much of the habits and opinions of that class; while the duties and emoluments of the judges have been lately put under the control, in the first instance, of the Governor and Council of the island. The Court of Appeal, consequently, is neither more nor less than a delusion. What common labourer in Trinidad can find security for 5*l.* sterling, or can deposit that sum? Who among them can go to a distant town to attend a judge, over miserable roads, and at a sacrifice of eight or ten days? And which of them, finally, can expect justice at the hands of judges deeply imbued with planter prejudices, and under the practical control of the planter body? The whole affair is too transparent not to be seen through in a moment. It is a scheme to reduce the labouring population to the most stringent possible servitude—to slavery under the name of freedom. And that it is particularly designed for the benefit of the expected immigrants appears from a clause, which, although we have not yet noticed it, is the most remarkable and atrocious of all. We refer to the 11th clause of the masters and servants' ordinance, which, although artfully worded, clearly proposes that contracts for labour may be entered into in any part of the world "from which her Majesty may be pleased to allow of immigration into" Trinidad, and that all such contracts, excepting those only which may be formed within the limits of the island, shall be valid for an unlimited period. Here is the *animus* of the whole. The planters of Trinidad are stretching their loving arms out thus wide, in order to give to all immigrants a warm reception. They will enter into contracts of labour with them in any part of the world, and for any period of time; having prepared a law by which their condition shall be rendered as nearly as possible that of a slave. Generous souls! We have done what we can towards making known this unheard of benevolence, and we hope that intending immigrants especially will hold it in admiration. In the meantime, however, the ordinances are under the eye of Lord Stanley, with whom, we may add, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have put themselves into immediate communication on the subject. He must know as well as we do, that the allowance of such ordinances as these will amount to the entire abrogation of the order in council of Sept. 7, 1838; a document which has truly been denominated the West Indian labourer's charter, and which, having been maturely considered by the Government of that day, will not, we hope, be regarded as waste paper by their successors.

THE LEAGUE AND THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ANOTHER article appears in the *League*, on "the Sugar Monopoly and the Anti-Slavery Society." Our contemporary, in this article, entreats his "anti-slavery friends to reflect how far the failure of their well-meant efforts may be attributed to the violation of the laws of nature and Providence;" the law which he has in view being that which requires that there should be a free exchange of the produce of one country for the produce of all other countries on the globe. Without being very critical on this representation of the case, it is enough for us to say, that there are laws of morals as well as laws of nature, and that the former are of more imperative obligation than the latter. Our contemporary's view of the natural law of universal exchange would oblige him to deal unrestrictedly with robbers and pirates, to buy slaves of kidnappers and human flesh of cannibals.

He next lays it down that slavery cannot be put down by mere declarations of its unchristian and iniquitous character; but that slaveholders can be approached only through their pecuniary interest. This, although partly true, is too broadly stated. In some cases, as in Turkey for example, slavery is not a matter of pecuniary interest at all; and the noble conduct of the Bey of Tunis presents an instance in which it has been renounced solely under a conviction of its oppressive and iniquitous character. We agree, however, with the writer in the *League*, that slaveholders ought, where it is possible, (as to a great extent it is,) to be approached through their pecuniary interest; a principle which obviously lies at the root of our desire after fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

Our contemporary laments that slave-owners generally entertain the opinion, that slave labour is cheaper than free labour; and he complains of the Anti-Slavery Society that they have (he courteously says unconsciously) fostered this erroneous notion. If we inquire after the mode in which they are alleged to have done this, we find it to be by nothing else than their desire to favour free labour by fiscal regulations. Now, if this tends to foster an idea that slave labour is cheaper than free labour, it must be because the fiscal regulation is desired for this reason. This, however, is not the fact. The Anti-Slavery Society have never said, Favour free labour because it is the dearest: they have said only, Favour free labour because it is the fairest, the freest from injustice and oppression. To say that it is also the cheapest, is to say what, *ceteris paribus*, we also believe; but what tends in no degree to remove us from a position which we have taken on a different ground. In truth, this fact can go no further than to show that unrestricted competition between free and slave labour would be safe: it supplies no evidence whatever that it would be advantageous.

The article concludes by an elaborate rebuke of the West Indian planters, in which we too nearly concur with our contemporary to find fault. That the introduction of free labour in the British colonies would generally have been a source of pecuniary gain, if the planters had acted with fairness and discretion, we believe. It may be asserted with confidence, however, that it was not for gain, either to themselves or the planters, the people of Great Britain demanded the abolition of slavery; and that, whatever may have been, or may hereafter be, its pecuniary results, they may boldly maintain the successful issue of this great experiment in the improved and improving condition of the people.

TEXAS.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, &c. &c.

MY LORD.—Among the events which have recently occasioned the friends of human freedom in the United States, as well as in this country, much anxiety and alarm, has been the fixed determination of a portion of its citizens, deeply implicated in the continuance of slavery, and unfortunately having the powers of the executive government at present in their hands, to annex the republic of Texas to their own. Already has the House of Representatives, by an unlooked for majority, passed resolutions in favour of the project, and it is said to be extremely doubtful whether the Senate may not be induced to affirm them. In that event the consent of Texas alone will be required to consummate the act.

It is, however, satisfactory to remark that many, the Committee believe most, of the eminent men of the United States are decidedly opposed to annexation on constitutional grounds; whilst it admits not of a doubt that the more intelligent and religious part of the community are strenuously opposed to it on those of humanity and morals. They dread, in common with the Committee, the indefinite extension of slavery on the American continent, to which such an event would probably lead; and would hail, in common with the Committee, the legitimate and prompt exertion of the great moral influence of the British Government with their own to prevent so fearful a catastrophe.

The Free States are already moving against annexation. By the last mail the Committee received information of a great meeting held at Faneuil Hall, Boston, at which fifteen hundred delegates from the cities and towns of the state of Massachusetts attended, to enter their solemn and united protest against a scheme which, if realized, would cover their country with dishonour. Other states no doubt will follow the example set them by Massachusetts.

But the Committee not only look with confidence to your lordship to exert a wise and peaceful influence, not only over the counsels of the United States, but also with the Government of Texas. Unless her

consent be given, annexation cannot take place; and it is hoped that, if she be strongly encouraged by the British Government to maintain her independence, the base designs of bad men may be averted. Under a wise government, with free institutions and a free people, there can be little doubt that Texas would ultimately become a great and powerful nation.

The unabated interest felt by the Committee in this important subject will, they trust, be their apology for again directing your lordship's attention to it. But, persuaded that they speak, not only the sentiments of the abolitionists of this kingdom, but of the United States also, they have felt it to be a duty arising out of recent events respectfully to renew their request that the exertions of the British Government may be continued to prevent the annexation of Texas to the United States.

I have the honour to be, on behalf of the Committee,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

New Broad-street, March 1, 1845.

REPLY.

Foreign Office, March 6, 1845.

SIR.—I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, in which, on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, you request the peaceful interposition of her Majesty's Government, both with the United States Government and with that of Texas, in order to prevent the contemplated incorporation of Texas with the United States.

I am to thank you for your communication; and to assure you that her Majesty's Government will not fail to take such measures as may be practicable, and as they may deem best suited to meet whatever circumstances may arise, with reference to the object in question, both in the United States, and in Texas.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) H. N. ADDINGTON.

To John Scoble, Esq.
&c. &c.

SLAVERY IN ALGERIA.

(From our own Correspondent.)

I SEND you a few more particulars respecting slavery and the slave-trade in Algeria. First, I give you an extract from a French pamphlet, entitled "L'Algérie en 1844," by M. Desjober. At page 125, M. Desjober says:—"We should have thought that France had renounced the idea of counting men amongst the number of its merchandise, since experience has proved that to buy prisoners from the African people was to provoke them to war; it was to increase still more the barbarism of their chiefs; it was to sow in their bosoms the most selfish and infamous passions: but, nevertheless, M. Laurence, senior director of African affairs in Algeria, in the commission instituted in January, 1842, speaks of projects respecting slaves. Marshal Soult has satisfied the Commission of the Credits of 1844, by declaring that in no case would Government buy these slaves (*noirs*); he thinks, however, that one could not hinder the natives from having slaves. Under this view the regency of Tunis marches quicker than France in the way of civilization: slavery was abolished there two years ago." You will perceive by this passage, that the anti-slavery spirit is not extinct in the writers of France, if it does not make progress. But let us hope it will.

The next passage which I take the liberty of sending to you is an extract from the French journal, *Afrique*, 2nd December, 1844, which confirms all that I wrote to you of the abominable slave transactions at Oran. This journal says, "The traffic in slaves is carried on in Oran by a class of natives, the Jews, who are the habitual go-betweens or brokers. Many persons in Oran possess little slaves that have been sold to them by the chief of this commission, who is attached to the mayor of the city, and who receives a salary from Government for performing these functions. The authorities see this, know it, and yet, nevertheless, are silent and act not. I will not say that the Government authorizes it, but it tolerates it. Such is the shameful laxity of French employés in Algeria on the heinous traffic in human flesh and blood. In the time of the deys, *Jews could not deal in slaves*."

I shall close my letter by copying a very curious extract from an old Spanish book, called *Historia del Reyno de Argel*, Barcelona, 1733, respecting the slavery of Christians in Algiers up to that date. It is:—"Generally speaking, the slaves in Argel (Algiers) are more respected than the free Christians there. The last are continually injured by the Turks, Cololis, and Moors, whilst the slaves are seldom injured, much less maltreated; for, if they sicken or die in consequence, the aggressor, or his relations, would be condemned to pay much more than their value. Sometimes slaves commit crimes in the houses of their masters, who suffer without denouncing them, for fear of losing them through some decree of justice. It is an incontestable fact, however, that the vices of the slaves, (few of the class being free from them,) occasion them as much misery as their masters. But those slaves who, by obedience and fidelity, recommend themselves to favour, enjoy not only the esteem of their masters, but their regard also." P. 285.

From this extract we learn that the condition of Christian slaves in the old piratical state of Algiers, was much more tolerable than is usually supposed. In fact, there was no comparison be-

tween the way in which these Christian slaves were treated by their Mohammedan masters, and that of slaves now held by Christian masters in the West Indies and America. The Christian masters are more like demons, when compared to the mild despotism of the Mohammedans.

I have heard, but I scarcely believe it, that Marshal Bugeaud has got a plan in contemplation of introducing negro slave-labour into Algeria, for the colonization of this country.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MARCH 19, 1845.

A MAIL from the United States was delivered yesterday. The following view of the state of the annexation question is given by the *Morning Chronicle* :—

"The question of the annexation of Texas was on the point of being decided by the Senate; and the numbers in that assembly are so nearly balanced, that the defection of a single vote (that of Mr. Bagnay, of Alabama, whose vote had been counted upon for annexation, but who, in a clever speech, had come out strongly against it at the last hour,) was looked to with great interest, and would, it is said, give a majority of one against the measure. The discussion in the Senate opened on the 13th ultimo, and was continued with great spirit up to the 26th, when an adjournment took place. The vote would, it was thought, be taken on the following day. Mr. Polk, the new President, is said to have been using all his influence in favour of the measure, the fate of which was undecided at the latest accounts."

The same conveyance has brought us a letter from our valued correspondent, Lewis Tappan, dated February 26th, of which the following is an extract :—

"The Address of your Committee to the Abolitionists in the United States is received. The Address is printed at length in the *Boston Chronicle* of the 24th, and will doubtless be copied into many of our anti-slavery newspapers. Other papers will scarcely notice it.

"By a letter from Illinois, I learn that Mr. Work has been pardoned by the Governor of Missouri, and has returned to his family. He is an honest mechanic. A benevolent individual went from Illinois, and made such a statement of facts to the governor of Missouri that he granted a pardon; and there is a strong probability that his two late companions will be pardoned soon.

"A friend of mine in Kentucky recently visited the Penitentiary, and saw Miss Webster, who has been said, but erroneously, to be a relative of the Hon. Daniel Webster. Miss W. is of a respectable family. No other female was in the prison. She had not been arrayed in a prison dress, but was treated unlike most convicts; and the expectation was that ere long she would be pardoned. Mr. Fairbank pleaded Guilty, and was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. The papers say that the judge intimated to Mr. F., 'in consequence of his saying he regretted his offence—was not aware, until he came into Kentucky, how well off the slaves were—that the course of the Abolitionists was wrong, &c.'—that it was probable the governor would shorten his term.

"The allusion made in the Address to the Free Church of Scotland will give pleasure to the abolitionists of this country. We have seen with much gratification the discussions that have taken place in some of your newspapers relative to the conduct of the Commissioners of the Free Church in soliciting money from American slaveholders, while the apologies and attempted justifications of it in the organ of the Free Church have filled us with astonishment. We did not believe that any respectable paper, religious or secular, on your side the Atlantic, would indulge in such apologies, or in such vituperation of American abolitionists.

"It is unquestionably true that anti-slavery principles have been greatly extended the last twelve months. Previously the discussions were carried on chiefly in anti-slavery papers; but of late a large number of newspapers have engaged in the discussion, and our sentiments have had free course. One effect has been that a desire is manifested to obtain anti-slavery publications, and to learn the facts relating to the good results of emancipation in the British West Indies. A president of one of our oldest colleges recently wrote to me to obtain for him a complete set of anti-slavery literature for the college library.

"No call was issued for the proposed convention in the city of Washington. The proposition was favourably entertained, but the time suggested was thought by many too short. The subject is under consideration, and it is hoped that by another year a call may be signed by several hundreds of influential abolitionists in different parts of the country.

"You will learn with high satisfaction that Cassius M. Clay has issued proposals to publish in Kentucky a paper entitled *The True American*, in which the duty and advantages of emancipation will be discussed. It is proposed to publish the first number June 1st.

"We rejoice to learn that the cause of abolition is onward in Europe; and we hope the day is not distant when the system of slavery will cease in every country.

"The resolutions of the House of Representatives in favour of annexa-

tion have been before the Senate several weeks. Several able speeches have been made on both sides the question. Several of Mr. Clay's Whig friends from slave states will vote, it is confidently said, for the resolutions, or something equivalent. The predictions of the Liberty party, therefore, that slaveholding Whigs could not be relied upon in this matter are about being realised, it would seem. We are in the most anxious suspense to know the result in the Senate. That body is nearly equally divided on the subject, and it is very doubtful which party prevails."

The papers contain an important message from President Tyler, in relation to the slave-trade as carried on by American citizens, but we must postpone the insertion of it to our next.

THE West India mail has brought us several articles of interest. A letter from the Rev. Joshua Tinson, of Jamaica, to Mr. Sturge, a lengthened extract from which appears in another column, treats the question of the moral and social condition of the peasantry in a sober and candid manner, and will repay perusal. By the *Dominica* papers, we find that the letter of Mr. President Laidlaw, addressed to us through the columns of the *Colonial Gazette*, has subjected him to some rough handling from the parties aggrieved by it; but we do not see occasion for our further interference in the quarrel. The intelligence from Trinidad we have treated in a separate article. In British Guiana, a strong sensation has been created by the arrival of the *Roger Stewart* from Sierra Leone, with the large number of 348 emigrants. It will be in the recollection of our readers, that this vessel was chartered by some private individuals in Berbice, a license for her voyage having been obtained from the Governor. She quickly shipped her full complement of 350 persons. Of this number about 325 were newly-liberated Africans; so that we have here the obvious result of Lord Stanley's coercive proclamation of the 12th of June last, refusing even food to this class of persons a single day after the appearance of an emigrant ship on the coast. This is compulsory transportation, not free emigration. Upon the arrival of the *Roger Stewart* at New Amsterdam, it turned out that the charterers of the vessel did not mean that these immigrants should be located, as usual, under the authority of the Government, and through the medium of the recognised agent; it appeared, on the contrary, that these successful speculators had determined to distribute them by private arrangement, or, in other words, to place them all on their own estates, and this at the very moment that they had obtained an order for the payment of the bounty of 7s. sterling per head out of the colonial purse! Under these circumstances it can create no surprise that the same parties are about to repeat their experiment, and that others propose to imitate their example. The private distribution of these new-comers has so far proved a stumbling-block in the way of the Governor, that he has ordered the payment of the bounty to be suspended; but we think it requires much more serious notice than this. The distribution of immigrants was placed in the hands of an official and responsible agent, in order to afford some guarantee for the exercise of their own choice on the one hand, and for the selection of a healthy and desirable location on the other; and, small as it is, it is the only guarantee which has been offered, or which can be given, for either of these important and indispensable points. To abandon this part of the immigration system is to open a wide door for the exercise of artifice and fraud, in the train of which incalculable mischiefs must inevitably follow. If the fact of chartering a vessel is to give to the charterer a right to the immigrants who may be brought in her, all possibility of salutary regulation, and even of freedom of choice, is taken away; the immigrants are *ipso facto* purchased men, and the whole transaction is an undisguised slave-trade. In our judgment the first step in this process is the wrong one. If we could bring our minds to the system at all, we should say that the chartering of emigrant ships ought to be as exclusively in the hands of the Government as any and every other part of the proceeding.

The arrival of the *Roger Stewart* supplies an occasion to our contemporary of the *Berbice Gazette* for an argument on "the true method" of ending the slave-trade, namely, "by rendering it unproductive to the planters of Cuba and Brazil." We must bestow upon this argument a few words.

"The introduction of the people by the *Roger Stewart*," says our contemporary, "cost the colony somewhere about 1,500*l.* A similar number would cost the Brazilian planter, at the lowest computation, 30,000*l.* Suppose we start at their introduction, the estate being there, machinery and other things equal, the enormous difference has in some way or other to be compensated before the production of these people can be sold cheaper than our own in the British market. This can only be effected in one way. The labour of the slave is not better, as we shall presently show; nor is there an advantage in soil or climate in any slave state in the world not possessed by ourselves; but sugar-making requires a set of continuous operations—atoms as it were making up an aggregate—which the slave-owner can compel, the want of which with us makes the whole difference; the possession of which would, in a few years, solve the problem of free as against slave labour, by making us independent of protection."

The sum of this is, Give us people enough to insure continuous labour, and we will make sugar cheaper than the Brazilians and Cubans. Now, to this we answer in a single word, that, when British Guiana, like Brazil and Cuba, had both slaves and the slave-trade, she did not make sugar as cheap as those countries; and if she did not do so then, what reason is there to suppose she would do so now? The allegation is a mere plea to get immigrants. Besides, the assumption on which it is based is untrue. This assumption is, that there are no other differences in the cost of sugar-making, as between British Guiana and Brazil, than that which

arises from the purchase of the labourers at different prices. Why, the planters have for years been dunning us with the affirmation, that wages to free men are a much heavier charge than to keep slaves ever was; besides which it is notorious (although the planters do not say much about it) that the management of estates involves a far more prodigal and extravagant expenditure in the British West Indies than in any other colonies in the world. Yet this writer naively says, "The want of [continuous labour] with us makes the whole difference!" Further, so far from this alleged want of continuous labour—that is, of hands to work continuously—making "the whole difference" between the cost of sugar-making in British Guiana and Brazil, we undertake to show, from evidence supplied by this writer himself, that it makes no part of the difference at all. Here are his words:—

"Plantation Everton is probably the best, if not the only paying property in the county. There is located upon it a large population of fine people, who take pride in its success; and on it, more than on any place with which we are acquainted, can continuous labour be depended upon. The consequence is, low cost of production, so low as fully to bear out our argument, that with abundant labour we would be independent of competition. Adding the price obtained for the rum and molasses to the pay-list of the property, the crop of 1844 has been produced at the rate of 22 dollars per hhd. of 15 cwt. for wages: add as much more for salaries and other charges, and we have sugar produced under 12s. 6d. per cwt., at a time when Cuban and Brazilian is worth 19s. 6d. in the London market."

We happen to know plantation Everton well, and we can testify that it deserves all that can be said in commendation of it. But plantation Everton is in British Guiana, the very colony in which it is so confidently alleged that continuous labour cannot be had. Here, however, continuous labour can "be depended upon," there being on the estate "a large population of fine people, who take a pride in its success:" and here, accordingly, sugar is made at 12s. 6d. per cwt., a cost at which it could undersell the Brazilian. But, if this can be done at Everton, why not at other plantations in British Guiana? What advantage has Everton? None, but that it is managed in a spirit of equity and kindness. We are personally acquainted with its proprietor, and can speak of him in terms of commendation; and this estate being selected as the most remunerative plantation in the colony, and as one which, without immigration, could undersell Brazil, is a fresh demonstration that what is wanted in British Guiana is not hands, but discretion. Singularly enough, the very number of the *Berbice Gazette* from which we are quoting supplies us, in another article, with an independent proof of this position. It thus gives what it calls a "return of labour as compared with population" in the county of Berbice.

"In this county, as the latest census informs us, there is a population of upwards of twenty thousand souls, two-thirds of whom, or nearly so, are adults. Taking, as the most accurate test, the pay-list of every estate in the county, whether the cultivation be sugar or coffee, and putting every guilder down for a day's work, we find that in the year 1844 the whole labour obtained in this county amounted to no more than 3,660 guilders daily; and to every one conversant with the economy of a plantation, it must be apparent this mode of reckoning will be over rather than under the amount of work. The tables from which we copy are compiled with the most particular accuracy for official purposes, and may be, with all safety, relied on as correct. Here, then, in an agricultural country, solely dependent for very existence upon such an amount of production as will defy the competition of the slave, we have an amount of indolence—'of self-indulgent repose,' unparalleled in the world."

We will not at present inquire how far this very dubious representation may really correspond with facts. For the purpose of our present argument our contemporary cannot complain if we assume its truth. We say then, upon the authority of the editor of the *Berbice Gazette* himself, that hands are not wanted in that county, but only the tact to induce them to work; and we add the obvious corollary, that immigration is not required to supply numbers, but only as a remedy, and it is a very bungling one, for bad management. One of the worst features of the case is, that this concession to bad management past will too surely be a premium on bad management to come. What has driven one set of labourers from the sugar estates will as surely, after a short period, drive away another; and so the mischief at present recklessly pampered threatens to become interminable. A prompt and cordial reformation in estate management would be attended with the most beneficial results to the planters themselves. If they can succeed so well as according to the editor of the *Berbice Gazette* they can, with labourers purchased at the rate of 1500*l.* for every 350, how much better would they succeed with labourers who are already on the spot, and would cost them nothing but a little civility and fair dealing! But with respect to the slave-trade, it is evident that immigration is not wanted for the extinction of this mischief. Everton can undersell Cuba and Brazil already; and so, by consequence, can every other estate in British Guiana, if they will try. But, besides all this, what is to hinder the Brazilians from exchanging the old slave-trade for the new, and from purchasing the so-called free labourers at as cheap a rate as the planters of British Guiana?

We have received from British Guiana a copy of an important memorial to the Government of the agents of the London Missionary Society there, on the subject of the immigration of Coolies into that colony; and we regret that we have not been able to secure its insertion.

We are indebted to the *Antigua Observer* for a notice of some strictures, contained in one of the letters of our correspondent N., on the general administration of Sir Charles Fitzroy, as Governor-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands. Our contemporary speaks of His Excellency in terms of high eulogy, which we shall not attempt in any measure to qualify. It affords us sincere pleasure to believe, upon the authority of our contemporary, that all is true. It is only the more to be regretted that, under so benign an administration, so angry an outbreak should have occurred as that which was witnessed in Dominica, and that Sir Charles's conduct in relation to it should have been in any measure less wise and considerate than that of his general government. With respect to our correspondent, we can only say that we did not insert his letter without being acquainted with his name, and assured of his respectability. We must add that the remarks of our contemporary do not at all reconcile us to the system of governing the West India colonies by "planter-presidents." That among those who have been planters very estimable and highly qualified individuals may be found, we do not question; but as a class, these gentlemen are, we are convinced, so deeply imbued with despotic sentiment, and so obnoxious to the dislike and mistrust of the labouring population, that it cannot be reconciled with wisdom to make a systematic choice of men for high office from among them. That the remedy of this evil lies with the Colonial Office we admit; and our correspondent is misunderstood, we think, in being supposed to affirm the contrary.

We are pleased to find that Lord John Russell has deemed the matter of immigration to the West Indies of sufficient importance to bring it, by some very pertinent questions, before the House of Commons. As to the statements made by Mr. Hope in reply, we are surprised that that honourable gentleman should venture upon them, in the face of published documents. He certainly draws largely upon the assumed ignorance of his auditory.

We insert, for general information, the circular which has recently been sent to our friends throughout the country, in relation to the Government scheme of immigration to the West India colonies. According to the recommendation given in it, a petition to Parliament on this subject has been adopted by the Committee, and has been placed in the hands of Sir Robert Inglis for presentation. That petition also will be found on another page. We need say nothing, we hope, to quicken the activity of our friends on this occasion.

It has often been observed that the pro-slavery spirit has deeply rooted itself among the social and religious institutions even of the northern states of the American Union. A more painful illustration of this remark has not for a long while come before us than that which is afforded by an article in our present number, headed "PHILADELPHIA BIBLE SOCIETY." For nearly five years had Professor Cleveland held the presidency of that society, devoting himself laboriously to the duties of his office, and eminently promoting the interests of the society. At the late Presidential election, however, he, being an abolitionist, acted with his friends, and wrote the Address of the Liberty party to the citizens of the state. So much offence was given by this step to the members of the committee of the Bible Society, that Mr. Cleveland felt it his duty to tender his resignation, which, by a majority of fourteen to seven, was accepted. His letter of resignation is very interesting, and we have thought it our duty to insert it without abridgment. He says justly, that, if such things were not recorded, posterity would not believe them. We cannot pass the transaction by without declaring our utter amazement—we might, without doing injustice to our feelings, have used a stronger term—at the proceedings of the committee, and expressing our sincere sympathy with Professor Cleveland in the position in which his independent conduct has placed him.

OUR anticipations respecting the Free Church of Scotland are partly fulfilled. On the 12th instant, at a meeting of the presbytery of Edinburgh, the Rev. Dr. Duncan brought forward a motion on the subject of American slavery, and the money received by the Free Church from slave-holders. He was supported by the Rev. Henry Grey. Drs. Cunningham and Candlish, and Mr. Guthrie, spoke in opposition, and the motion was ultimately withdrawn. We shall give the proceedings, if possible, in our next. We honour the men who have thus fearlessly come forward on this important subject; and we trust others will be found to follow their example.

THE frequent prosecutions in the United States of persons charged with aiding slaves to escape having been taken into consideration by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the following resolutions were unanimously passed by that body, on the 26th of February last:—

"That this Committee feel it to be their duty publicly to express their deep sympathy for those estimable individuals now incarcerated in the jails and penitentiaries of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Florida, on the charge of having counselled, or aided and abetted certain slaves to escape from Southern bondage.

"That so far from regarding as crimes, the alleged acts for which they have been condemned to various cruel and degrading punishments by the slave courts of the United States, they esteem them to be deeds of Christian benevolence.

"That, in the view of this Committee, the law of American slavery, which condemns nearly three millions of innocent beings, and their posterity after them, to perpetual bondage, with all its revolting and cruel incidents, is, and should be considered by all good men, as morally null and void, inasmuch as it is a manifest violation of the natural rights of man, and an impious invasion of the prerogatives of Almighty God.

"That the wickedness of this law becomes the more apparent, in that it requires other laws equally iniquitous in principle to sustain it, laws which denounce acts of humanity as crimes, and punish deeds of mercy with chains and imprisonment, branding and the pillory; thus reversing the great Christian law of equity and benevolence which requires that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

"That this Committee therefore respectfully, yet urgently, call on the friends of humanity and religion in this and other countries to enter their emphatic and united protest against the system of American slavery, as founded in iniquity and upheld by oppression, and especially to urge on the Christian philanthropists of the United States the solemn duty of seeking by every constitutional and Christian means its immediate and entire abolition, and the universal application of the sublime truth contained in their Declaration of Independence, that 'God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

"Finally,—That this Committee tender their warm and heartfelt sympathy to the wives and children, and other near relations of their imprisoned friends, and affectionately command them in their affliction, to the protection of Him who is the 'God of the oppressed,' and to the Christian regard and care of their fellow-labourers in the cause of injured and oppressed humanity.

(Signed) "JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary."

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—FRIDAY, March 14.

COOLIE EMIGRATION.

In committee on the Sugar Duties Bill, Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, that there was a subject intimately connected with the measures under discussion, relative to which he had addressed the house upon a former occasion, and with respect to which he thought that Parliament ought to have the fullest possible information. He alluded to the means used, or to be used, to enable proprietors in the West Indies and the Mauritius to command an increased supply of labour (hear, hear.) He considered this an especially important question to this country, which had done so much for the destruction of slavery, and the improvement of the condition of the labouring population in our West India colonies. The country had a right to know all the steps which had been taken on the subject. Now, he had received letters in reference to this matter from many parties who stated that they had relations acting as missionaries in the West Indies and Mauritius, and that these gentlemen were much afraid of the effect upon the present colonial population which the character of the proposed labourers would probably produce. When he spoke upon the subject before, he particularly adverted to Jamaica, and the right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer told him that there existed no loan for the purposes of immigration into Jamaica. He believed that this statement was quite correct; but then, with respect to Guiana and Trinidad, he believed that there were ordinances sanctioning loans for immigration which had passed the legislatures of those colonies. He thought, therefore, that it was of importance that the House should have before them any measures for this purpose, and also full information as to the nature of the instructions which had been given by the Secretary for the Colonies, stating how far Government had approved of what had been done in this respect. It was stated that the noble Lord, the Colonial Secretary, had proposed, or rather had it in contemplation to propose, some guarantee to Parliament for the payment of the loans in question. He did not know how far this statement was correct; but considering how closely the sugar bill was connected with the subject, he took the opportunity of expressing his opinion that Parliament should have as much information relative to it as Government could give.

Mr. HOPE, in answer to the questions of the noble Lord, begged leave, in the first place, to say, that the alarm expressed by the noble Lord, in reference to the possible demoralization of the population in the West Indies and Mauritius, in consequence of the intended immigration, was quite unfounded. The fact was, that from the papers which he proposed to produce to the house, it was quite apparent that no such apprehension could reasonably be entertained, the number of labourers which could be drawn from Africa being so very limited. With respect to immigration, a statement had gone abroad that in the Mauritius there was not work to be found for the labourers introduced. This was, however, quite a mistake. There was an ample demand for labour there, but there had been some labourers carelessly introduced by the persons at one time charged with the management of the immigration system, who had not been found well fitted for the purposes of cultivation; but since the system had been conducted by the Government, all the immigrants had found ample employment. Another question of the noble Lord referred to the immigration ordinances. There would not be the slightest difficulty in producing the papers relative to all these ordinances. Ordinances had been certainly passed in Trinidad and Demerara, but no portion of the loans had been raised; and from the difficulties in the way, he did not think that any progress would soon be made in the matter.

Viscount HOWICK thought that the hon. gentleman had not answered one of the questions put to him by his noble friend; he alluded to the

intentions of Government in reference to any guarantee for those loans. He objected to the principle of raising loans and saddling future periods with their payment. Present expenses should be paid from presently provided revenues.

Mr. HOPE should have stated that as to the guarantee no decision had yet been come to by the Government.

Mr. P. M. STEWART remarked that difficulties existed in the way of introducing labourers into our colonies. Some respectable mercantile houses in the city had obtained licenses from Singapore and Penang; but it was found that instructions had been contemporaneously issued from the Colonial Office to the effect that these licenses should not be allowed to be acted upon. Now, as numbers of willing labourers existed at Singapore and Penang, it was of great importance to know how they could be made available. The great point for the West India proprietors was to obtain labour; and that end accomplished, they might do what they liked with the protective duties.

Mr. JAMES added a few words in further explanation.

Mr. HOPE could state with confidence, that it was quite a misunderstanding that any such instructions as those alluded to by the honourable gentleman had been issued by the Colonial Office. The instructions which had been sent out were laid before Parliament. He had, however, before heard the statement made by the honourable gentleman. He had made inquiries, and he had ascertained that any difficulties which might have existed in the way of procuring labourers had been originated with the Indian Government, and had not arisen from the nature of the instructions sent out. The real obstacle seemed to have been, that the persons obtaining licenses had not sent out ships from this country to convey the labourers, but had written to agents at Singapore and Penang to hire suitable vessels; and that these persons, not understanding the system, did not choose to enter into a venture, of the result of which they had little knowledge.

Literary Notice.

Western Africa; its Condition, and Christianity the means of its Recovery. By D. J. EAST. London.

THIS interesting and valuable work is the production of an estimable Christian minister, and is intended to supply fuel to the flame of missionary zeal, an object to which it is well adapted. That which brings it properly under our notice, is its reference to the topic of slavery, which forms a very prominent and affecting feature in the condition which the author has undertaken to describe, and to which the first chapter of his work is entirely devoted. On this subject he directs the attention of his readers to three points: slavery as involved in the despotic power of the chiefs, social slavery, and the slave-trade. After giving some affecting instances under the first of these heads, he proceeds to the second, which he treats at considerable length. With regard to the *universal prevalence* of the system, he says—

"All travellers, without exception, who have visited this unhappy country, confess its existence in every kingdom they have traversed. You cannot follow them in the descriptions they have given of the numerous states through which they have passed, without feeling yourself everywhere in a land of slaves. Slavery stares you in the face on every hand; in every town and village which you enter, and in every dwelling to which you may be introduced—from the palace of the prince, to the humble domicile of the meanest of his subjects. 'I know,' said Colonel Nicholls, before the West African Committee of the House of Commons—'I know no other characters in Africa than master and slave.' 'Slavery and a slave-trade,' says M'Queen, 'form the general law of Africa. These two evils reign acknowledged, sanctioned, known, recognised, and submitted to by all her population, of every rank and degree, throughout all her extended borders.'"

The author then notices in detail the *sources* of African slavery. After naming as its principal sources, war, famine, insolvency, and crime, he refers to the influence of Mahomedanism, and an idea on the part of the chiefs that it affords support to their own despotism. The *uses* to which slavery is devoted are next adverted to, and are thus stated by the author.

"1. Slaves are the principal article of barter in Africa.

"2. Slaves, with some few exceptions, are the artizans and agricultural labourers of Africa.

"3. Slaves are the principal property of Africa, and the chief means of subsistence to its free population."—Pp. 23—25.

Our author then asks "*what is the condition of the slaves of Africa?*" and he gives an excellent answer to this question which we would cite entire, if our space would permit.

In treating of the African slave-trade, our author throws the multitudinous and appalling facts which are extant on this subject under the following heads:—

"1. The slave-trade renders Africa a perpetual scene of bloodshed and rapine.

"2. The slave-trade operates to the discouragement of agriculture, and the suppression of legitimate commerce.

"3. The slave-trade fosters a state of barbarism—loosens all the ties of nature—debases the morals of the people—and constitutes one of the principal obstacles to the progress of Christian instruction."—Pp. 31, 39.

The particulars enumerated are in all cases illustrated by facts derived from the best authorities, and we do not know that, in the space of about forty pages, a better general view of so large a subject could have been given. We are obliged to the author for this contribution to the anti-slavery cause.

THE PHILADELPHIA BIBLE SOCIETY.

We copy from the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* the following correspondence and observations, painfully illustrative as we deem the transaction to which they relate of the deep root which the pro-slavery spirit has taken in the social and religious institutions of the United States.

To the *Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

After very mature deliberation, I have concluded that it is my duty to send to you for publication the following letter. I have waited till after the Presidential election, lest the allusion in it to one of the candidates might possibly be misinterpreted.

I send it now, for the purpose of adding my mite to the documentary evidence that will be sought for by the future historian of the anti-slavery enterprise of our day, when about to record the persecutions suffered, and the odium endured by those who have taken any prominent part in the great and good cause.

Some things, unless recorded, our posterity will hardly believe. They will hardly believe that while, on the one hand, a man who allowed his name to be associated, on the same presidential ticket, with a slaveholder and a duelist (to say nothing more), was not, thereby, deemed by Christians of the present day, in the least degree disqualified for presiding over the deliberations of the largest Missionary Board in our land; on the other, that an individual, if he had not for the sake of peace and harmony resigned, would have been unceremoniously thrust out of the presidency of a Bible Society, over which he had presided for nearly five years, because he opposed the election, for President of the United States, of a most wicked man, and advocated that of a pure and high-minded Christian philanthropist. If such things, I say, are not recorded, posterity will hardly believe them.

Grateful to you and thankful to God for all that you have done for our persecuted but righteous cause, I remain, with great Christian regard, your friend and brother,

C. D. CLEVELAND.

Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1844.

TO THE MANAGERS OF THE PHILADELPHIA BIBLE SOCIETY.

Philadelphia, June 3, 1844.

Christian Brethren,—I herewith tender to you my resignation as President of the Philadelphia Bible Society. To that post of honour and responsibility, in one of the great departments of Christian benevolence, I was elected in November, 1839. What the Society did for the years previous, and what it has done since; what changes, beneficial or otherwise, have been introduced; how many or how few plans have been devised and executed, for engaging the earnest co-operation of Christians of all denominations, throughout the sphere of our labours; how much or how little agency I may have had in what has been done; how much, or how little, I may have laboured in the many ways in which such a cause calls for continuous and efficient action; of all these things I have, of course, nothing to say. The record of a part, though but a part, is before you. It has become history, and history it will remain.

And here, wishing you, as a society, all wisdom in the choice of my successor; still greater success in all your future plans of benevolence; and for each of you, individually, the richest of all blessings—here I might close. But that plainness and Christian candour which, I trust, will ever characterise me through life, and which, at such a time, are due alike to you and to myself, demand that I should say something more.

Ever since you elected me to be your President it has been my fixed purpose that I would continue such no longer, certainly, than it appeared that I held the office by the unanimous wish of the Board. If there be any place where entire confidence, entire harmony, entire love, should prevail, it is where Christians meet together to devise plans for the circulation of that Word the very essence of which is love and good-will to man. Not that all the Board should have precisely the same views in morals, religion, or politics. To require that, or to expect that, would be as absurd as to require or to expect that all should look alike, or be of the same stature. While each claims for himself the right to hold his own opinions upon all subjects, without being amenable to the Board, each should have the justice and magnanimity, as well as Christian charity, to allow the same to all other members; never dreaming that diversities of opinion in individuals conflict with their duties as managers, or commit the Board, in the slightest degree, to their own peculiar views. But it seems that the time has arrived when there is to be an exception to this clear rule of action.

On the 17th of last month, when calling on Mr. Booth,* to consult with him, as one of the Committee, in relation to our anniversary, he said that he felt it to be his duty, as my friend, to say that a number of members of the Board had, within a few days, expressed opinions adverse to my being re-elected the President of the Society; and that there would doubtless be many votes given against me, at the next election; or words to that effect. The ground of the opposition, he said, was the charge of my being the author of "The Address of the Liberty Party of Pennsylvania to the People of the State." To that charge, with however much of odium it may be attended in this community, I would here plead guilty. But how it was that my being the author of that "Address" conflicted with my duties as your President, did not, I confess, so readily appear. The thought immediately occurred to me, that the most prominent member of the Pennsylvania Bible Society is, and has been for many years, a slaveholder. I say it not in the least spirit of unkindness to that gentleman, but merely state it as a fact, with which I know many of you are familiar. Yet I never heard it whispered, even, that such a relation constituted any objection to his being, year after year, elected to the responsible office of Corresponding Secretary.

How, then, my being the author of an Address to the People of Pennsylvania, advocating the eternal principles of truth and justice; an address, every moral sentiment of which is, I believe, in accordance with the truths

of that Bible which we have been labouring to spread; an address which calls upon all good men to exert their influence to elect such rulers as have the fear of God before their eyes; an address which holds up one man, the idol of a great party, in the light in which every moral man, not to say Christian, should view him; an address which speaks of slavery as Christian men, in growing numbers, all over the world, are speaking of it, whose moral vision is not obscured by the thousand selfish interests that ensnare the soul, and lead captive the understanding;—how, I say, my being the author of such an address disqualified me from being the President of a Bible Society, did not, I confess, appear so plain to me.

It is enough for me, however, to have been assured that a considerable portion of the Board seem to think so; and therefore, agreeably to the resolution, always formed in my own mind, to preside over you no longer than it seemed to be desired by a wish unanimous or approximating to unanimity, I deem it best to retire from your body, that you may select some one to fill my place in whom you can all harmoniously unite.

Allow me, however, to say that there are some questions connected with this subject, entirely independent of myself, which it may be well for the Board to ask and seriously to ponder. Are they prepared, as a body, before the world, to take what will seem to be pro-slavery ground, in deeming one unfit any longer to preside over them from his anti-slavery views? Are they prepared in this day of increasing Christian light, and in the face of the Christian public, to do anything that would seem, in the slightest degree, to countenance or strengthen a corrupt sentiment on the subject of slavery? What, then, I ask, will be thought of the offering up, as a peace offering, a brother, as a sacrifice upon the altar of its Moloch? I ask not what a Christian public, merely, may think of such things; but I ask what high-minded men think? Will it not seem to them something like persecution for opinion's sake? And will it meet their sense of right action, to have any one, though they might not agree with him in sentiment, removed from a responsible station, for writing what he has written under a deep sense of duty and responsibility?

Such are a few questions which the Board may here ask. Others of a similar character will doubtless present themselves.

Let it be here borne in mind, brethren, that I have never asked you to espouse the opposite side; that I have never asked you to take anti-slavery ground, except by doing all you could to circulate the best of all anti-slavery books—the Bible. You will bear me witness, that notwithstanding my well-known views on the subject of slavery, I have never introduced them into the Board. Not that I was prevented by any considerations of unpopularity. Were I governed by such low motives, I never, in Philadelphia certainly, should have written that Address—nor ever have divulged the sentiments I hold. But having thought often and deeply upon the course which it was duty for me to take, I never could see what good could be done by bringing the subject of slavery before our Board, limited as our sphere of operations is to the city and districts. I have lamented indeed, and deeply lamented, that the American Bible Society, in its annual report, when giving its estimate of the destitution of our country, has never mentioned the poor down-trodden slave. I have thought the course pursued by that Society a yielding to the prevailing corrupt sentiment of the day, certainly not in keeping with the spirit of the Gospel.

And here I am glad to be able to present to you some high confirmation of my views. My early and honoured friend, S. P. Chase, Esq., of Cincinnati, for many years the efficient President of the Young Men's Bible Society of that city, one of the most prominent members of the Liberty Party in Ohio; and who needs no eulogy of mine to his moral and intellectual worth, in a letter dated May 28, 1843, thus writes— "Our Young Men's Bible Society and yours are two most important auxiliaries. Can we not do something to arouse the American Bible Society from its apathy in regard to the destitution of the slaves? When they propose to put a Bible in every family, and omit all reference to the slaves; and when, giving an account of the destitution of the land, they make no mention of two and a half millions of people perishing, in our midst, without the Scriptures, can we help feeling that something is dreadfully wrong?"

This, brethren, is a most solemn question. It is a question which I verily believe the Board of the American Bible Society, so far as they may have yielded, directly or indirectly, openly or silently, to a corrupt public sentiment on this subject, will have to answer at the bar of Him who has declared, that "if ye have respect to persons ye commit sin;" and that, "inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me." The spirit of Christianity is a spirit of universal love and philanthropy. She looks down with pity, and if she could, she would look with scorn upon all the petty distinctions that exist among men. She casts her benignant eye abroad over the earth, and wherever she sees man, she sees him as man—as a being made in the image of God, whether an Indian, an African, or a Caucasian sun may shine upon him. She stoops from heaven to raise the fallen; to bind up the broken-hearted; to release the oppressed; to give liberty to the captive; and to break the fetters of those that are bound. She is marching onward with accelerated steps; and wherever she leaves the true impress of her heavenly influence, the moral wilderness is changed into the garden of the Lord. May it never be ours to do what may seem even to be the slightest obstacle to her universal sway.

Such, brethren, are a few of the many interesting thoughts that crowd upon me on this occasion. But I have already written more than I intended, and I cannot enlarge. In bringing this communication to a close, allow me to express to you individually, and as a Board, my most sincere Christian attachment. Whatever course any members may have taken in relation to this matter, I must believe that they have acted from what has seemed to them sense of duty. Far be it from me to impeach their motives. Time, the great test of truth, may show them their course in a very different light from that in which they now view it. I may, as a Christian, lament that their views of duty are not more in unison with my own. I may, as a man, feel heart-sickened at the diseased, the deplorably diseased state of the public mind, in relation to two and a half millions of my fellow-men in bondage. I may, as a citizen of a free state, blush at the humiliating fact, that not only the tyranny, but the ubiquity of the slave power is everywhere so manifest, that it has insinuated itself into

* One of the Vice Presidents. A few days after that date, he told me that there would doubtless be a majority opposed to my re-election; which the subsequent vote on the acceptance of my resignation (fourteen to seven) fully proved.

our free domain to such a degree, that there seems to be as much mental slavery in the free States as there is personal in the slave States. I may feel all this, but I must not impeach the motives by which others have been governed.

And now let me, in conclusion, leave those points in which some of us may differ, and look only to those in which we have all agreed. Let me recur to pleasing recollections. Let me look back to the past five years, during which time we have all moved on so harmoniously together, in our labours to furnish the destitute with the volume of divine truth. I can truly say that our action together has ever been to me, one continued source of pleasure. If there have been differences of opinion (and these have been very few and very slight) they have been settled as Christians always should settle them, in the kindest and most confiding manner. I thank you for all your kindness to me. I thank you for your confidence so early shown and so long continued. I thank you for the cordial support you have ever given to the various measures proposed to increase the resources, and to extend the usefulness of our society. And let me assure you, that of all the pleasing reminiscences of my life none will ever be to me sources of more grateful meditation, than those connected with the five years in which we have moved on, hand in hand, so harmoniously together. If, during those years, in our labours to carry the gospel to the destitute, we have been the humble instruments of bringing even one sinner to turn from the error of his ways; of giving even to one, those consolations which the Bible alone can give, we may feel, indeed, most richly rewarded for any amount of time or of labour we may have devoted to the work.

Again, wishing you, from my heart, individually and as a Board, the richest of Heaven's blessings,

I remain very sincerely, your friend and brother,

C. D. CLEVELAND.

After a debate of more than two hours, as Mr. Cleveland was informed by the Secretary, the above letter of resignation was accepted, fourteen to seven. Lest those who do not know Mr. Cleveland should entertain the suspicion that some dereliction of duty on his part entered into the reasons for accepting it, it is due to him to state that the following resolution was passed "unanimously" at the same time.—

"Resolved, That this Board are mainly indebted to Professor C. D. Cleveland for the prominent and influential position it has attained in the regards of this Christian community; and that they bear an earnest testimony to the sound judgment and unwearied zeal which have ever characterized the discharge of his duties in his responsible office."

This settles the question. A gentleman, a scholar and a Christian, to whom the Board of Managers of the Philadelphia Bible Society acknowledges itself to be "mainly indebted for the prominent and influential position it has obtained in the regards of the Christian community, and to whose "sound judgment and unwearied zeal" in the discharge of his duties, "they bear an earnest testimony"—such a one resigns his office, stating explicitly that he does it only because he learns that opposition will be made to his re-election on the ground of his having written an "Address" in opposition to slavery, and in behalf of honest and impartial freedom. Such a resignation, from such a man, and for such a reason, the Board, after long discussion, deliberately decide to accept. In so doing, they confess that the opposition supposed did exist. They confess that it existed for the reason supposed. Otherwise, they would at once have said to Mr. Cleveland, "You are mistaken. There is no opposition, or if there be, it is not on that ground. We beg you, therefore, to recall your letter and retain your office; or if, because of opposition on other grounds, you still insist on your resignation being accepted, we accept it, thanking you for your past invaluable services, and assuring you most solemnly, that the free utterance of your views and feelings, as a citizen, in respect to slavery, is the last thing we should ever think of as disqualifying you, or any one, for the Presidency of the Philadelphia Bible Society." But the Philadelphia Managers do no such thing. They accept the resignation as stated. They confess therein both to the fact of the opposition and the reason for it. In all this they deliberately proscribe free thought and free speech. They proclaim it to the world, that they and slavery are in such close and loving alliance, that he who touches it touches them, and is thereby an outlaw from favour and from office in the Philadelphia Bible Society! Christian men will by and by be sorry for such proceedings.

MR. MACAULAY ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

[The following is that part of Mr. Macaulay's speech in the debate on the sugar question in which he treated of slavery in the United States. We were unable, for want of room, to insert it in its place.]

The right honourable gentleman (Sir R. Peel) proposed to take away all the duty on cotton wool. He said he did so in carrying out a great principle, and he deservedly took credit to himself for it; but by whom was the cotton grown? It was all the produce of slave-labour. It was said that cotton was one of the less painful kinds of slave-labour, and less destructive to human life than the cultivation of sugar; but he met that argument by the fact that the Government gave very considerable reductions to the slave-grown sugar of the United States (hear, hear). In the United States there was a slave-trade going on in no respect less odious and demoralizing—nay, in his opinion, more odious, more demoralizing, than the slave-trade which was going on between the coast of Africa and the West Indies (hear, hear). Every one knew that the slave states in the United States of America were divided into two classes—the breeding states, where the human cattle were grown, bred up to the age deemed fitting for labour; and the sugar, cotton, and tobacco cultivating states, where they were sent to be worked to death (hear). North Carolina and Virginia, he need hardly mention, were two of the chief breeding states: upon a reference to the census in 1830 and that of 1840, he found that in these ten years the number of slaves in North Carolina was as nearly as possible stationary; while in Virginia the number had in the latter period decreased, though the increase all the while, by propagation, was notoriously enormous—though the births notoriously exceeded the deaths by hundreds and thousands. The anomaly was explained when you turned your eyes to the other states,

the cultivating states, where the negro, that human animal, was borne down to the grave by cruel labour. In Louisiana, at the census of 1830, there were 107,000 slaves; at the census of 1840 these had increased to 180,000. In Alabama, the number at the former period was 117,000, and at the latter 253,000. In Mississippi, in 1830, there were 65,000; in 1840 the number had more than trebled itself. There were then 195,000 (hear, hear). The process was this. The slave-jobbers made their periodical journeys into the former states, purchased all such slaves as had been bred up to the desired point, tearing asunder in their dealings all the dearest ties of blood and affection, as ruthlessly as ever did slavers on the coast of Africa, and when they had completed a gang of three or four hundred of these unhappy victims, drove them, hand-cuffed, fettered, and guarded by armed men, as you see driven, or rather as you would not drive, cattle to Smithfield-market, drove and dragged them to Louisiana and the other cultivating states, there to swell the number of wretches doomed to labour such as never fails to hurry them, in a few years, to their graves (hear, hear). God forbid that he should say one word in favour of slavery in any shape; but this he would assuredly not hesitate to say, that slavery in the United States of America wore its very worst form (hear, hear). Bad enough it was, monstrous, that civilized man should go to uncivilised lands to buy up wretched barbarians, and sell them as slaves in distant lands; but that civilised man, in the heart of his own civilised country, boasting of its civilisation, of its freedom, should breed up slaves—nay, for let the horrible truth be ever kept in mind—should beget children for slaves (hear, hear); that baptized men, frequenting Christian churches, after seeing their own offspring playing around them all the years of infancy and childhood, should then sell them at so much a head—should, for five hundred dollars, consign their own children to a life, the only consolation in which was, that, after the agonising labour of some five years, death would charitably come to end their sufferings—this, to his mind, had about it something far more horrible, far more revolting, than even the revolting horrors of the slave-trade in Africa (hear, hear). Nor let it be supposed that these were rare or eccentric atrocities. Every year were tens of thousands of American-bred slaves transmitted from the one class of slave states to the other, as regularly as pigs were traded in from Dublin to Liverpool, or coals from Tyne to the Thames (hear). The evils of the slave-trade to the Brazils presented nothing equal to the horrors, the frightful immorality and wickedness, of the slave-trade carried on in the United States of America. Evils there were, fearful evils, beyond all question, in slavery, wherever it existed; the peculiar feature in the slavery of the American continent, that which made it so especially horrible, so hopeless—that which, while it prevented, took away all hope that we could ever see a free community there, was the antipathy of colour (hear, hear, hear). Every one knew that this antipathy did not exist in Brazil, certainly not to any such extent. Every one knew that in Brazil there was a free coloured and black population, numbering many hundreds of thousands, very many of whom were highly respected and esteemed by the rest of the community; that they were not excluded from the learned and honourable professions; that, on the contrary, numbers of them were physicians and lawyers, and bore arms—nay, that many of them were priests; and when it was considered with how high a consideration the Roman Catholic religion invested its ministers, this last fact alone spoke volumes (hear, hear). There it was no unusual thing to see white penitents confessing themselves, and obtaining absolution from negroes—negroes dispensing the Eucharist to whites. He need not say how different was the aspect of things in the United States (hear, hear). This he would say, however, that if he were called upon to express an opinion in which of the two countries it was probable the condition of the African race would be better eighty or a hundred years hence, he should decidedly say it would be in Brazil. Again, as to a matter on which we laid peculiar stress: Brazil agreed to give us the right of search, America refused it (hear, hear). If we found it ultimately impracticable to effect the carrying out of that object, the power, of all the powers of the earth, responsible for that failure, would be the United States of America (hear, hear). What the present Government felt as to the immense importance of that right, was known to the house and to the public, from Lord Aberdeen's letter the other day, wherein that noble Lord spoke of it as the effective means, the only effective means hitherto devised, of repressing the slave-trade (hear, hear). To that maritime police which we, with the utmost humanity and wisdom proposed to establish on the great highway of nations, for the suppression of the slave-trade, Brazil assented; the United States of America, on the contrary, absolutely refused their consent, and by that refusal imperilled the success of the whole plan (hear, hear); nay, not content with rejecting the right of search, that Government even contested the right of visit, which, he would venture to say, no publicist in Europe ever doubted for a moment was altogether consistent with the right of nations (hear, hear, hear). More than this; in every country of Europe had the Government of the United States, by means of its diplomatic agents, attempted to get up an opposition to the right of search (hear, hear). The house had not forgotten the letter of General Cass on this subject (hear, hear). The course pursued by the United States had already been fatal to the views of the Government of this country as to this right. Had the United States assented to it, we should have heard of no opposition to it in France or elsewhere; but the United States rejecting the right, it was hardly to be expected that a high-minded and tenacious nation like the French would submit to that which the United States refused to submit to (hear, hear). The late President of the Board of Trade said, that the right of search would be gone if the noble member for London succeeded in his motion. Surely the right honourable gentleman could not be blind to the fact that the right of search was practically gone already, in consequence of the conduct of the United States, whose Government was even more responsible for the very slave-trade going on between Congo and Brazil, than Brazil itself (hear, hear, hear). The Government of the United States had placed itself on a bad eminence, an eminence to which Brazil would never have aspired, and which, had she aspired to it, she would never have attained (hear, hear, hear). The United States had publicly declared itself the champion, the apostle of slavery; that it took its stand on the principle of slavery as opposed to the principle of freedom; had, as though there were something grand, illus-

trious, ennobling, about the doing so, declared itself the evil genius—the Arimanæs—of the unfortunate Negro race (hear, hear). He, Mr. Macaulay, could understand people who were born in a country where slavery prevailed, saying: this is a bad state of things, we admit, but we were born and bred to it, and so it must go on. But this was not the feeling of the American Government. No, the feeling of the United States Government was a propagandist feeling, bent on continuing slavery as a principle—as a part of an immutable system—as a cause so holy as to sanctify all means in advancing, in extending it; and fully justifying it in clutching, to the right and left, upon provinces belonging to its neighbours, wherever the slightest gleam of freedom manifested itself—putting itself forward everywhere as the champion of the slave-owners, in the same way that our Elizabeth took the part of the Dutch, because they were Protestants (hear, hear.) For many years had the United States been acting with the most culpable, the most restless energy, to defeat every measure on our part for the prevention of the slave-trade, so that, in his opinion, the slave-trade, to whatever extent it might now exist between Brazil and the coast of Africa, was in a great measure to be ascribed to the United States (hear, hear.) Yet here came the right honourable baronet with a proposition which, the moment after a solemn protest against the admission of Brazil sugar, by reason of the employment of slaves in the Brazils, went on to admit the slave-grown cotton of the United States (hear, hear).

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—THE EMANCIPATED CLASSES.—Extract of a letter from Joshua Tinson to Joseph Sturge, dated Calabar, Jamaica, Nov. 15, 1844:—“ You refer to discouraging accounts received from certain quarters as to the moral conduct of the emancipated, and ask my opinion. Jamaica is not yet an Elysium, or, if that be too heathenish a word, a Paradise. But, if it be not Paradise, it is not Pandemonium. Perhaps some good people in England have indulged anticipations that sound judgment would hardly justify—anticipations cherished, no doubt, from implicit reliance on report, without sufficiently considering the history of mankind, and what human nature ever has been, and ever must be, till more entirely imbued with religious principle. With respect to the grand experiment in this island, as far as my observation and experience have gone, I should say the experiment has been decidedly successful. My sober and settled conviction is, that, all things considered, the result is quite equal to what we ought to have expected. We have had years of severe drought, unprecedented in the history of the country. This tried the planters, and tried everybody. It necessarily abridged employment to a very great extent; for the managers of estates, where they had the power, were unwilling to bestow labour on the properties with so little prospect of any return. The people were consequently without employment, and want of occupation is both morally and physically injurious; if, therefore, some of them, even of those who professed Christianity, evinced a spirit at variance with the maxims of the gospel, let us not think it strange or despond on account of it. Not a few of the employers, who needed nothing to render their tempers austere and oppressive towards the labourers, were chafed and fretted by circumstances over which they could have no control, and were ready to charge the people with indolence and immorality, instead of submitting to the hand of God which was heavy upon them. We have now beautiful seasons, and it will be seen who are in fault. Where there are means for working estates, and that vicious adherence to old prejudices, still far too prevalent, does not interfere, there can be little doubt of excellent returns. That foolish and wicked bubble, emigration, continues to be viewed by many as the panacea for Jamaica’s afflictions; while nothing, I am confident, can be more fallacious than such an opinion. We have land enough, it is true, to sustain many thousands of immigrants, but labourers we do not want—there are enough here to cultivate all the estates to a much greater extent than during slavery, notwithstanding the vast amount of land brought into cultivation as the property of the emancipated. But the owners or managers of estates either cannot, or will not, pay for their cultivation, even at a much lower rate of expense than during slavery. Hence the country must be heavily taxed, and loans obtained from England to introduce labourers from India—a measure fraught with nothing but mischief, to say nothing of its dishonesty. To the planters it will be useless, if not ruinous; and to the morals of our native peasantry alarmingly destructive. Everything should be done that can be done to oppose it. Perhaps you hear that the people refuse to work, and sometimes leave estates in the midst of crop. These statements may admit of an explanation which, if not sufficient to justify, may very much lessen the supposed criminality of such conduct. With very few exceptions, the managers take every advantage they possibly can of the labourers, not only to reduce their wages, but to harass them by not paying their wages when earned. I hear complaints of this kind continually. Not a few of our congregation say they have been owed wages ever since last January. Some have had none for four or five months. They are offered flour by the barrel; but this they are unwilling to take, as they want other things, and the price is also very high. The pimento crop is just over. It was very abundant, and brought a high price. The people were paid well at the beginning of the crop; but as soon as all was picked the people were put off, and told they must wait for the balance of their money. This is not the thing for poor people who are dependent on their daily earnings for bread. There is a poor man in our congregation who engaged to clean a field for 5s. It was a heavy job, and he earned little more than 1s. a day. When the work was finished it was examined and approved of, and papers given acknowledging the debt: I have seen them, but no money has ever been paid. The poor man got credit for food during the performance of the work, on the strength of the agreement; the overseer has left the property, the money is not paid, and the labourer has been sued for the bread that he ate during the work. Another took a piece of road to mend; he employed others to help him; the parties who had the disposal of the money granted by the Assembly for the road, and who employed the person referred to, refused, when the work was done, to pay the money; and thus the poor fellow lies out of his money, has none to pay the hands he employed, and they are ready to devour him.

In this manner, and in various other ways, are the people teased. Can we wonder, then, at their occasionally going wrong? I know one case this year in which all, or nearly all, the people left the estate in the midst of crop. It happened thus:—It was pimento time; pickers were needed, and able hands, accustomed to the work, could earn 2s. 6d. or 3s. sterling a day—sometimes perhaps more, when the pimento was abundant. They were getting only 1s. 6d. a day at the highest on the sugar estate, and they left to go and gather pimento. This was trying to the planter; but it was only doing what the planters do by them—making the most of their opportunity. But then I ought to mention, that on a neighbouring estate, where the people were getting the same wages—1s. 6d. a day, and could have left, they all remained. And why? On the latter the manager was not only civil to the labourers, but sought to give them employment, as far as possible, out of crop; and therefore the people said they would not leave him. In the former case the overseer cared nothing about the interests of the labourers, and only employed them as necessity or caprice might dictate, and they acted on the same principle. I do not mean to say that the people are never wrong—far from it; but I do mean to say, that, on a serious review of the whole matter, the wonder is that we are doing so well, rather than that we are not doing better; and to sit down in despondency shows, I think, either a weak, sickly state of mind, or an ignorance of the world’s history and of the nature of man.

“ 4th Feb., 1845. I have conversed freely on the state of the island; and, while I still feel that the people are not without their faults—(would it not be surprising if they were?) I have seen no cause for altering the opinions expressed in the previous part of this letter. My greatest concern is about the young, lest those who are now children, from the want of education or proper employment, should grow up with habits of indolence, and notions altogether erroneous about freedom. But we should not look for all at once. The old state of society, if society it might be called, has been completely dissolved, and it must take time to consolidate a new and totally different kind of society. Parties should not provoke disappointment by expecting too much.”

ANTIGUA.—IMPROVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURE.—We were very much interested by the perusal of the “ Report of the Sub-Committee of Management on the Proceedings at Cochrane’s Estate on the 12th Nov.,” detailing the results of the various agricultural experiments submitted for inspection;—and we sincerely rejoice to find that the anticipations, which we have so often expressed, have been so triumphantly realized. We rejoice on account of the country, and on account of these islands generally, because we see here the germ, the first outbudding, of a system which, when fully matured, will enable our planters to grow and prepare their produce at an infinitely lower cost than at present, and to compete with any sugars in the markets of Great Britain, come from where they may. We call it the germ of a system, because, as yet, it is only in its very first stage of infancy, and because the principle which it involves embraces a far wider range than is yet contemplated—when fully carried out into all the operations of an estate, as it necessarily must, and, sooner or later, will be, it will reduce the demand for manual labour amazingly, and the price of wages, and the cost of the staple, in proportion to the double saving effected; and we should not then be surprised to find sugar made ready for the market, as the *Liverpool Paper* and the *Economist* say has already been done, at 8s. or 10s. per cwt. The grand exploit of emancipation will then have gained its great and enduring triumph, and slavery will be effectually overthrown, when the comparative cheapness of freedom is so completely and convincingly demonstrated.—The “ Report ” exhibits the following results:—1st, the success of the hoe harrow in the weeding of canes at a saving of nearly 50 per cent.; 2nd, the practicability of cultivating the cane without holing or crossholing, and the successful substitution of implemental husbandry, in the entire preparation of the soil at an average saving of about three-fourths of the present expense; 3rd, the vast improvement obtained from ploughing between the rows of ratoon canes, and the consequent gain to the planter at a very trifling cost; 4th, the assurance of incalculable benefits which the country must reap, if the principle is fully and universally adopted. These follow as a necessary consequence, and need no particular illustration: hands will be disengaged, means and opportunities for extending the cultivation of the island will be afforded at a greatly diminished rate, the amount of productions will be augmented, larger exports will be made, and consequently capital and general property indefinitely increased. We look, indeed, upon the beneficial “ results of machinery ” as beyond all calculation; and they will, we doubt not, if skilfully taken advantage of, not only be the saving of these colonies against the consequence of all foreign competition, but will yet raise them to a pitch of agricultural and commercial greatness which they have not hitherto experienced. We have no hesitation in declaring our belief, that at this present moment Antigua is foremost in the field, and that she is now making greater efforts to economise labour, to substitute implemental for manual force, and thus to secure her success, than any other colony in this archipelago. It is certain that she has produced this year, with decidedly less than 10,000 pair of hands, a crop nearly equal to that of Barbados with more than 30,000. We speak of available hands actually brought into estate operations.—*Antigua Herald*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—LIBERATED AFRICANS.—A despatch of Lord Stanley, of date the 26th of Dec., communicates the intelligence, that measures have been taken by the Secretaries of State for Colonial and Foreign Affairs to sanction the removal of Africans, liberated by the Mixed Commission Courts established at Loando and Boa Vista, under a late treaty with Portugal, to this colony, Jamaica, and Trinidad.

THE *Roger Stewart*, the emigrant ship chartered for Sierra Leone by some private speculators in Berbice, has returned with the full complement of 348 emigrants, two having died on the passage. All but about twenty-five of them are newly liberated Africans. They are to be distributed on the lands of the successful speculators, who are about chartering another vessel, the *Superior*, for a similar trip.—*Berbice Gazette*.

EDUCATION.—By direction of Government, a sum of nearly 6,000l., remaining over and unclaimed from the slave compensation-fund, is to be employed in educating the rising generation of the African race.—*Royal Gazette*.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE VIRGINIA BAPTISTS ON SLAVERY.—A large Baptist Association in Virginia, the Rappahanock, lately held its annual meeting, and among other things took the following action on the subject of slavery. The matter came up in the form of query, to which the Association made the reply that is appended:—

Is it consistent with the Christian religion, for a member of the Baptist church to buy and sell negroes for speculation? If this query should be answered in the negative, then what course would the Association advise a church to pursue towards a member who persisted in trafficking in slaves for speculation?

Answer.—We think that the traffic referred to in the query is inconsistent with a profession of Jesus Christ. That a member of the church engaged in such a speculation, ought to be admonished of the evil, and, persisting in the practice, ought to be excluded from fellowship.—*New York Evangelist.*

A FACT.—While in Georgia, Mr. C. took lodgings with a Mr. H., owner of some fifteen or twenty slaves. One of the number was a stout, intelligent young man; very bright, when his opportunities were taken into consideration. This young man was frequently punished in a cruel manner for his faults, however few they might be. After experiencing abuse and suffering year after year, which grew more and more intolerable, he chose to run the risk of enjoying liberty in the swamps and bogs of Georgia, with all their loathsome reptiles, or being released from his suffering by death, if taken, rather than to suffer such inhuman barbarity as he had been accustomed to. Consequently, one night, after having been the subject of his master's cruelty through the day, he fled, making his way to the nearest swamp. As soon as it was discovered he had fled, he was followed by Mr. H., his son, and Mr. C., my informant, who were led by a pack of hounds kept for the purpose. Mr. H., after following some time, however, concluded to return, being fatigued, and left his son and Mr. C. to pursue the human chattel. The hounds soon warned the poor fellow by their yelping, which told heavily and mournfully on his ears, that he was pursued. Expecting to receive more mercy from men than from dogs, he took shelter in a tree to secure himself from the ferocity of the latter, and that he might better plead for pardon or better usage with the former. On coming to the tree in which he was lodged, he was immediately ordered down; but not obeying so soon as the young man thought he ought to, he cast his oaken walking staff at him with such force that it brought him to the ground, *when he immediately expired*. Upon discovering he was really dead, a hole was dug in the ground, in which, freed from his sufferings, he was deposited with his rags. When the party returned, and informed the owner that they had killed his slave, he replied, "that it was a pity, really a pity, to lose him, as he was worth five hundred dollars, but he possessed too much intelligence to be a slave."—*Bangor Gazette.*

A HARD CASE.—A gentleman in whom we place implicit confidence, has informed us of the following affair, who was a witness of the facts:—In October last, the barque Hazard, Captain Clark, sailed from Providence for New Orleans, having on board a free coloured man, a native of Providence, as cook. After a dangerous passage, having arrived at the destined port, the vessel was considered unseaworthy, and of course the crew abandoned her. Among the number to seek for other employment was this honest, coloured man. There is a law in New Orleans, that no coloured person shall be found in the street after eight o'clock in the evening. This poor man, from the free, pure air of New England, knew nothing of this law, and was in search of business past the hour. He was taken up by the watchmen and put into prison, where he was confined six weeks; then taken out, and let out to work to pay his dungeon-fees, which were ninety dollars. Whilst thus at work, a passenger, who went out in the barque with him, accidentally met him. He was chained around the ankle and knee, under the lash of the task-master—emaciated and sick. He begged of him to give him a picayune, to buy some bread with; for, said he, "I am almost starved." Our informant states, that he then endeavoured to get him from the clutches of the field-driver, but being unsuccessful, he left him in agony bordering on despair. The coloured man had learned his fate, and was cast down, dejected; and thus suffering by the effects of the climate and the lash, was apparently approaching the confines of another more welcomely-to-be-received country than that ruled by the tyrannic arm of the slaveholder.—When he has laboured long enough to pay his jail charges, he is, if living, to be put up at auction and sold to the highest bidder—sold into perpetual bondage!—*Youth's Cabinet.*

SLAVE AUCTION IN MOBILE.—Mobile, for a place of its size, is a great market for slaves, and slave auctions are frequent. I witnessed many of these sales in different parts of the south, but never did I have my sympathies more fully aroused than I did at a sale of slaves I attended here. These slaves had belonged to kind master; and, as but few of them had ever been sold, they all appeared to be labouring under the greatest anxiety in reference to the future. A few hours before the sale the slaves are exposed for examination, &c. There were one or two old negroes who were disposed to be quite witty. One of them, an old decrepit negro, expressed to a gentleman, a desire to go back to Africa. Said the gentleman, "This is a good country, plenty to eat, plenty to drink, plenty to wear, make plenty of money here; you are a bad negro to want to go back to Africa. "Eh! make a plenty of money, God know dat, but no make um for nigger, make um for white folk," was his reply. One old negro, who had a wife and two children, told a gentleman who asked him if he was good to work, "Yes, me strong stout nigger, me can work first rate; me don't care who buy me, me will work good for him if he buys Dinah and de picaninnies; but if dey takes me from dem, I'll die before I work." And the compressed lip; and earnest decided voice told clearly that it would be so. When the sale begins, the auctioneer and slave to be sold stand on a platform, so that all can see them. Sometimes the auctioneer deals in the lowest slang and vulgarity, and sometimes they are gentlemen. When the sale began, you could see the negro offered for sale show the greatest anxiety; his eye followed that of the auctioneer; and as the bid came from a kind master, his face would lighten up and his eye brighten; but when again it rested on a doubtful or cruel

master, his face would change, the smile would disappear, and despair almost rest upon his countenance. If sold to the master he wanted, such a burst of joy as pealed forth from his lips I have never heard; no one could imagine that the human face was susceptible of such rapid changes from joy to sorrow, from storm to sunshine. All these slaves evinced the greatest anxiety, which was shown by the quivering lip, the convulsive twitching of the face, the suppressed tear, the heavy sigh, and the broken answer in reply to the different interrogatories put to them by the buyers.—*Jefferson Democrat.*

FRANCE.—THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.—The Duke de Broglie is to set out for London this day (Thursday,) to regulate, with Dr. Lushington, the question of the right of search. Two systems are spoken of as likely to terminate this difficult affair. The first consists in establishing mixed cruisers, at the mouths of rivers and in front of the usual places of rendezvous for slaves, either on their departure or arrival: in this case the reciprocal right of search would be suspended. The second plan for repressing the slave-trade would be—first, to destroy the slave factories or dépôts established on certain points of the coast of Africa; and secondly, to declare war on all the Negro chiefs who should for the future carry on the slave-trade. This will not probably be the final decision of the commissioners. When mixed cruisers are spoken of, it is not of course meant that the crews are to be half English and half French, but probably that two vessels—one French and the other English—are to chase the slavers and visit suspected craft, in order that, the reciprocal right of search no longer taking place, the vessel pursued may be visited by either one or the other of the twin cruisers, whatever flag it may display. Such a system is full of dangers and inconveniences. It would, first of all, be necessary to multiply the vessels on the African station, to such a degree as seriously to tax our budget. England says that the present number of vessels employed is insufficient for the repression of the slave-trade. What will she say when it will be necessary to reduce this number one-half, by joining two vessels together to perform the duty now expected by one? Either England, who has a greater number of vessels on the African station than we, will be obliged to reduce the number, or we shall be forced to augment ours considerably, to render the forces of the two countries equal. Likewise, it appears to us exceedingly difficult to unite in the intimacy of a long cruise, and under all political chances, the seamen of the two nations, the officers of the *Waspire* and the *Suffren*, for instance, particularly for the accomplishment of a mission likely to excite grave differences of opinion, without running the risk of serious conflicts, which would compromise the peace of the two nations. As to the second system, it must be observed that the destruction of the factories, or slave dépôts, offers no other advantages to the slavers than that of rapidly taking in the cargo of human beings. The present plan of effecting the slave-trade is this:—An American vessel, we suppose, takes to the coast of Africa such goods as are suitable for purchasing slaves. After having discharged her cargo she retires, an interval elapses, and the slave-dealer, informed by a letter of the speedy arrival of a slaver, purchases and collects the negroes. The slaver then comes up in ballast, there is no discussion or hesitation about the price or quality of the human merchandise, all has been regulated beforehand. The slaves are heaped together on board in the space of a few hours, and the vessel departs at once. Thanks to the promptitude of this last-named operation, the slavers often succeed in escaping the watch of the numerous English cruisers. If, in consequence of the system to be adopted, the activity and danger of this surveillance at sea be diminished, the slave-dealers will cease to have an interest in rapidly loading their vessels. The slave-dépôts will become useless. When once they are destroyed, the commerce in slaves will take place on all the points of the coast, on none in particular. The cruisers will, in fact, be completely puzzled and set at defiance. The slave-dealers will then carry on their affairs themselves, without any intermediation; and, being able to remain longer at anchor, will treat directly with the black chiefs. They will thus gain more, and will, besides, be able to make choice of their human cargo, and see that it be of a good quality.

The destruction of the slave dépôts will not hurt in reality any but the slaves. In these dépôts, of which the immorality is incontestable, the negroes find at least shelter, regular nourishment, some clothes, and the care which it is the interest of the slave dealer to give to them. Should these factories be abolished, the slaves taken from the interior will be deposited in African huts, or concealed in woods, having the earth as their couches and the leaves as their canopy. A melancholy prelude to the sorrows of the voyage in the holds of the slave ships. It will, therefore, be seen that this measure, while it gives activity to the slave-trade, will augment its miseries. We do not congratulate ministers in having had to reflect for two whole years before arriving at this result. With regard to the declaration of war on the negro chiefs we have difficulty in believing that it will be seriously thought of. What, shall we begin to civilise Africa by burning its villages? Shall we have recourse to murder to impose a measure of humanity? Shall we commit immorality in the cause of morality? There would be neither glory nor profit in such a system. And upon what pretext can this system of ruin and massacre be supported? How will it prove to them that the slave-trade is wrong? How will it prevent that trade? Slavery is spread over the whole of Africa. The slave-trade is carried on in the interior for the necessities of the natives, in the same way that it is carried on on the coast for the use of Europeans. The accounts of travellers who have been present at razzias made in the centre of Africa prove that slavery is not promoted in Africa by European cupidity alone. First change the ideas of these poor savages. Initiate them into civilization by commerce, by missions, and by exploring. But it will give them but a sad idea of Christianity to establish a permanent system of massacres and incendiarism over the whole extent of the coast, under pretence of abolishing the slave-trade.—*Constitutionnel.*